232 y 18

Le Parterre de Fleurs.

ESSAYS,
OBSERVATIONS,
AND
REFLEXIONS,
Moral and *Political,*
UPON
SEVERAL SUBJECTS;
Partly reſpecting the
Affairs of the Preſent Times.

Omne tulit punctum qui miſcuit utile dulci;
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo.— Hor.

LONDON:
Printed for *John Morphew* near *Stationers-Hall*, and *James Woodward* in S. *Chriſtopher*'s Church-yard, *Threadneedle-ſtreet*, 1710.

PREFACE.

THE REVOLUTION in *England* having open'd the Eyes of that brave Nation, with regard to their true Intereſt; as well as thoſe of the other Princes of *Europe*, who engaged with them, and united their Forces, to reduce an ambitious Monarch, that endeavour'd to ſet himſelf up above them; ſo many remarkable Occurrences happen'd, as made room for an Infinity of good Obſervations and Reflexions, which are not only of Uſe to every one in particular at preſent, but may alſo afford many neceſſary Inſtructions for the future.

THEY are placed confuſedly, as they preſented themſelves to the Mind; ſo that they compoſe a Variety of different ſubjects, interwoven one among another; ſome ſerious; and others entertaining,

taining, for the Relaxation of the Mind, and to pleaſe the ſeveral Palates of Men; wherein, 'tis hoped, every one will find his peculiar Satisfaction. It has ſerv'd as an Amuſement for a Perſon, who being ſeveral Years without Employment, in a Foreign Country, apply'd himſelf altogether to Reading, and Reflecting upon ſuch Things as occurr'd to his View; and having ſet down his Thoughts and Remarks in Writing, he found that his Work ſwell'd inſenſibly to a Bulk ſufficient to be communicated to his intimate Friends, who importun'd him to commit it to the Preſs. As ſuch a Deſign was of itſelf liable to no Objection, he had the Complaiſance to oblige them, without troubling himſelf about the Cenſure of the Criticks; having no other Aim in his Writings, than his own Satisfaction only, and an Amuſement in his Hours of Leiſure and Retirement.

He had gather'd ſomewhat of Excellent from Monſieur *de Pompone*, but eſpecially, ſome curious Thoughts of Monſieur *de la Rochefoucauld*; Two of the nobleſt and moſt admirable Wits in the Court of *France*; with which he has illuſtrated his Work, as being private Matters which have been communicated to by

very few. He begins his Obſervations with the Treaties and Alliances, which divers Princes made, at ſeveral times, with *France*; and lets you ſee, what they got by it. This is a Subject which Living Hiſtory ſufficiently mentions; and contains Matters of Fact whereof ſeveral Perſons, now alive, have been Eye-witneſſes, and which are beyond the Contradiction of any Perſon whatever.

'Tis, certainly, the hardeſt thing in the World, to ſuit the Humour of the Publick. Some are for Divinity, Phyſick, or the Mathematicks; Others for Literature, Medals, Inſcriptions, or Antiquities; And others, again, for Hiſtory, Law, or Politicks. This is what all our Journals are fill'd with. The Learned and Studious don't trouble themſelves about the Niceneſs of Turn, and other Embelliſhments of Speech: They are content, if you give 'em but Matter enough, and have no Value for the fineſt Ornament. While the Vulgar are full as careleſs with reſpect to the Bottom of Things, if the Expreſſion only be but agreeable: They admire pretty Turns and refin'd Criticiſms; and are above all things charm'd with Brightneſs. They cannot endure the leaſt Trouble even in the moſt abſtracted and

difficult Matters. How, then, ſhall an Author find out a juſt Medium, to ſatisfy both theſe? It is, I ſay, a very difficult Point.

FOR the reſt, we can only refer you to the *Table*, where you will find ſuch a Variety, as cannot but afford ſomewhat to your Mind, either with regard to Hiſtory, or to good Morals, Policy, and Religion. If none of theſe will do, you may, at leaſt, inform yourſelf of a great many Occurrences which have happen'd in *Europe* and elſewhere.

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ESSAYS,

ESSAYS, *OBSERVATIONS*, AND REFLEXIONS, *Moral* and *Political*, UPON SEVERAL SUBJECTS.

IF we consider how fatal and unlucky the Friendship and Assistance of *Lewis* XIV. have prov'd to all such as have made Tryal thereof, the Misfortunes of the late King *James* will be, no longer, Matter of Surprize to us. For, nothing is more certain, than that Providence has always look'd askew on those, whose Quarrels *France* has pretended to maintain. *French King's Friendship and Assistance always fatal.*

To be convinced of this Truth, we need only take a ſhort View of the Princes and States, whoſe Intereſts that Monarch has, ſeveral times, ſince his Majority, eſpous'd: And thoſe are, the Emperor, the *Venetians*, the Houſe of *Furſtemberg*, the King of *Sweden*, the *Meſſineze*, King *Charles* II. of *England*, the City of *Strasburg*, the *Grand Seignior*, the late King *James* II. the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*, and, laſtly, the Duke of *Mantua*.

Prov'd by the Aſſiſtance he gave the Emperor againſt the Turks.

The firſt foreign Power on whom *Lewis* XIV. foiſted his Aſſiſtance, was the late Emperor *Leopold*, in his War againſt the *Turks*, *Anno* 1664. The Uſe his Imperial Majeſty made of thoſe Succours, was, that the ſlender Succeſſes which enſued upon their Arrival, convinced him, he muſt make Peace with the *Turks* at any rate. And the ſooner, becauſe he had Reaſon to believe, the *French* King would, e'er long, turn Cat in Pan; and that, poſſibly, the numerous Troops which were ſending him from *France*, were not ſo much deſign'd to expel the *Ottomans*, as, when once lodg'd in the Heart of *Germany*, to open a Way to the Imperial Dignity, for the ambitious Prince who ſent 'em. It muſt be confeſs'd, the *French* behaved themſelves very well at the famous Battle of *Raab*; But the Smalneſs of their Number, compar'd with the Imperial Army, may take from the Share, which they claim, of the Glory of that day. This, however, is certain; the Bruſhes which the Emperor met with in that War, and the Umbrage he took, of the Deſigns of the *French*, determin'd him to treat with the *Turks*, immediately after the Battle.

THE Affair of *Candy* furniſh'd the *French* King with a freſh Opportunity of ſending Succours to the *Venetians*, and, at the ſame time, of laying the Foundation of their Ruin. They had maintain'd a bloody War, by Sea and Land, againſt the whole Force of the *Ottoman* Empire, for the Space of 23 Years, without Intermiſſion, and thereby gain'd immortal Glory; But as they had to do with an Enemy, who pour'd in upon them Troops, almoſt-innumerable, on all ſides, they were, at laſt, coop'd up in the ſingle Town of *Candy*; which alone remain'd to them, of the whole Iſland. From the Beginning of the Year 1666, when the Grand Viſier beſieg'd it in Form, to *June*, 1669, the *Venetians* had defended themſelves in a manner, which came up to the Reputation they had gain'd; and the Beſiegers had loſt above 80000 Men before its Walls. Thoſe who ſurviv'd, knowing they muſt ſhare the Fate of their Comrades, if they kept the Field, deſerted every day; inſomuch that the Viſier himſelf began to deſpair of taking a Town, which ſeem'd Proof againſt, and impregnable by, the Force of Storm, and Mine, and Bomb. Hunger and Peſtilence had turn'd his Camp into the Theater of Death; and his numerous Army was now dwindled to 16000 Skeletons, rather than 16000 Men. On the other hand, the *Venetians*, being Maſters at Sea, were ſupply'd with all manner of Neceſſaries at moderate Prices, and enjoy'd, in the Town, a general Plenty.

By that he gave the Venetians.

SUCH was the Condition of the Beſiegers and Beſieged, when the *French* Succours, (under the Command of the Duke *de Beaufort* Admiral, and the Duke *de Noailles* General of the

Land-Forces) arriv'd at *Candy*, in *June*, 1669. And thoſe Succours occaſion'd the irreparable Loſs of that Iſland.

TEN days after his Arrival, the Duke *de Noailles* would needs make a Sally, with his *French* Men, upon the Enemy's Camp, and attack a Poſt call'd *La Sabionnera*, where the *Turks* had lodg'd themſelves; Conduct very oppoſite to that which the *Venetians* had, till then, ſo ſucceſsfully obſerv'd, during the Siege; and extremely diſapprov'd by the moſt skilful Generals in the Town: But the *French*, prepoſterouſly impatient to ſignalize their Bravery, and teach the *Venetians*, *how to raiſe a Siege*, (as Monſieur *de Dampierre* was pleas'd to expreſs himſelf in the Council of War) could, by no means, be perſuaded to ſtay in the Town, and continue on the Defenſive, which the Beſieged had always found to be their ſureſt Game. In a word, the *French* having, with about 1000 *Venetians*, and 700 Pioneers, march'd out ſilently, without being diſcover'd, and ranged themſelves in Order of Battle, in a little Plain not far from the Enemy's Camp, attack'd Two Redoubts which cover'd the ſame; and, having put all the *Turks* to the Sword, made themſelves Maſters of both the Redoubts; ſoon after drove the Enemy from their Trenches and Works; and forced 'em to abandon their Camp. So far, ſo well. But as ill Luck would have it, a trifling Accident fell out, which did not only ruin the Enterprize, but cool'd the Courage of the *French* to ſuch a Degree, that they could never afterwards be perſuaded to undertake any Thing of Importance. Juſt in the Heat of the Action, wherein the *French* had

had driven the Enemy not only from their Camp, but even from another Poſt which they had ſeiz'd; by Chance, ſome Powder, Mortars, and Grenades, belonging to one of the *French* Batteries, took Fire. Away they run; abandon the Place, in the utmoſt Diſorder; and ſtrike ſuch a Terrour throughout their Army, that all betake themſelves to their Heels, and abandon Victory above half gain'd. Nor was that all: With Victory, they gave up alſo the Lives of abundance of their own Men; and, among the reſt, One worth a Thouſand others; namely, that of the brave Duke *de Beaufort*, whoſe Body could never be found.

As that Diſaſter encourag'd the Grand Viſier to carry on the Siege with greater Vigour than before; ſo did it very much diſcourage the Beſieged. And, as if the *French* had come only to haſten the Loſs of *Candy*, they re-embark'd the ſad Remainders of their Army in the Month of *Auguſt* following, and left the Captain-General *Moroſini*, ſince Doge of *Venice*, to quit himſelf, in the moſt advantageous manner he could, of a Place which was now reduced to a Heap of Rubbiſh, and could, therefore, be no longer maintain'd. And indeed, he did, at laſt, ſurrender it, upon honourable Terms, the 17th of *September* following. Thus, the Republick of *Venice* partly owes the Loſs of *Candy*, and, by that means, of the whole Iſland, to the unſeaſonable Bravery, or rather the obſtinate Caprice, of the *French*; For, it is more than probable, that if thoſe Troops had never come to *Candy*; or, if, after they were come, they had carry'd in the Town, as they were advis'd to do; the Grand Viſier had been obliged, not on-

ly to raiſe the Siege, but even to abandon the whole Iſland to the *Venetians:* And none ſo proper as that, in all the *Mediterranean*, to keep the *Ottomans* in Awe.

His Friendſhip fatal to the Houſe of Furſtemberg.

In the next Place, we find, that *Lewis the Great* vouchſafed to eſpouſe the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Furſtemberg*; a Family, that ſeems to have come into the World, purely to be the Ruin of her Country, and to give Birth to all the Misfortunes under which *Europe* has long groan'd. That Family liv'd happily enough, and made a conſiderable Figure in the Empire, ſo long as ſhe was not under the Dependence of the *French* King, nor had enter'd into any Confederacy with him; But when ſhe was ſo infatuated, as to make herſelf a Tool of *France*, What a Train of Evils did ſhe then bring upon herſelf? and how much greater upon her Native Country? The Head of the Houſe of *Furſtemberg* having been long kept Priſoner by the Emperor's Order, was, at laſt, ſet at Liberty; but liv'd, ever after, hated and deſpis'd of all the World. And the Cardinal of that Name has, ſince he became a Creature of *Lewis* XIV. met with a thouſand Croſſes and Diſappointments, capable of mortifying his Ambition; For he not only fail'd in his Pretenſions to the Electorate of *Cologn*, but has been ſince declar'd an Enemy to the Empire; ſo that, of all the *French* King's Allies, none has leſs Reaſon to boaſt of his Friendſhip, than that Cardinal and his Family.

Fatal to the King of Sweden.

The next that falls under our Conſideration, for having felt the diſmal Effects of the *French* King's Friendſhip, is the late King of *Sweden*; who, at the ſame time that he ſucceeded *Guſtavus*

Guſtavus Adolphus in his Kingdom, ſucceeded him likewiſe in his excellent Qualities, and rare Endowments; and convinc'd the World, by moſt ſolid Proofs, that he was the beſt of Kings. I ſhall paſs over, in Silence, the manifold ill Conſequences of the Alliance, which that King's Guardians, (his Majeſty not being then of Age) and the Senate of *Sweden*, enter'd into with *France*; becauſe that Matter would be too prolix: But we may be allow'd to ſay, that *that* Alliance reduced *Sweden* to great Extremities; ſince to *it* ſhe owes as well the Loſs of her fineſt Troops and Territories, as the Exhauſting of almoſt all her Treaſures.

By the Treaty made with *France*, the *Swedes* oblig'd themſelves to ſend an Army into *Germany*, againſt the Enemies of that Crown; unleſs they prov'd ſucceſsful in their Deſign of making a General Peace. But there fell ſuch warm Showers of *Louis-d'ors* at *Stockholm*, as induced the Senate to ſend away General *Wrangel*, ſore againſt his Will, with 10000 Men, to lay the Duchy of *Brandenburg* in Aſhes. However, he receiv'd ſuch a Blow, at *Terbertin*, as contributed very much to the Emperor's Declaring the *Swedes* Enemies of the Empire, and his Inviting the King of *Denmark*, and all the Princes of the Lower Circle, to invade ſuch Territories of the Crown of *Sweden*, as border'd upon their Countries. Soon after which, his *Daniſh* Majeſty poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Duchy of *Holſtein*, only becauſe the Duke of that Name had, by private Treaties, engaged with *Sweden*.

THE *Swedes* made their utmoſt Efforts againſt the numerous Enemies who attack'd 'em on all ſides; and were in continual Expectation of the Succours *France* had promis'd 'em by the Treaty: But far from being as good as her Word, ſhe was ſo negligent, as to ſuffer *Stade* in *Bremen* to be loſt; nor ever attempted its Relief, tho' her Troops were within three days March of the Place; inſomuch that, after a vigorous Defence, the Garriſon was oblig'd to ſurrender it.

I SHALL not inſiſt upon another Affair, which, by the Refuſal of a Convoy, occaſion'd the Loſs of greateſt Part of the *Swediſh* Fleet of Merchant-Ships, and their Admiral, and Fleet of Men of War, in the *Sound*. Nor more, upon the Treachery with which they were abandon'd in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. The Ambaſſador of *Sweden* at the Court of *England*, after the Revolution, inſiſted, and has continued ſo to do, upon all theſe Points, repreſenting 'em as ſo many Occaſions, whereon the *French* King abandon'd, at the ſame time, the Intereſts of his Maſter, and thoſe of all *Chriſtendom*.

MEAN while, I cannot forbear adding two or three Words with reſpect to one particular Action of the *French* King. It is, that after the King of *Sweden* had expos'd his Royal Perſon upon ſeveral Occaſions; and particularly, in three bloody Battles, wherein his Majeſty headed his Army, and in one of which he had a Horſe ſhot under him; *Lewis the Great* poſſeſs'd himſelf, in return, of the Duchy of *Deux-Ponts*, the ancient Patrimony of the Royal Family

Family of *Sweden*, of which he keeps Poſſeſſion even to this day.

Fatal to the City of Meſſina.

But proceed we, in the next place, to conſider one of the deepeſt and moſt cruel Tragedies, that ever was acted upon the Stage of *Europe*. A Tragedy it was, that will fix an eternal Blemiſh upon the Memory of *Lewis the Great*; and ſerve as a Warning to all Poſterity, how they truſt to the Friendſhip of a Prince, who ſacrifices Honour, Faith, and all that ought to be accounted moſt Sacred among Men, to his Ambition, and his Intereſt: I mean, the Affair of *Meſſina*, which happen'd in the following manner.

Tho', by the Contract of Marriage between *Lewis* XIV. and the King of *Spain's* Siſter, confirm'd by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, in the Year 1660, the *French* King had enter'd into a firm Alliance with his Brother-in-Law, and formally renounced all Right to the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Spain*, and whatever Pretenſions he might have to his Territories, in caſe of his Catholick Majeſty's Deceaſe; yet, notwithſtanding that Treaty, and contrary even to common Generoſity, *Lewis* XIV. by his Intrigue and Money, had well-nigh ſtripp'd his Brother-in-Law, who was ſcarce turn'd of Infancy, of one of his fineſt Kingdoms; that of *Sicily*. Ever ſince that Iſland became Part of the Dominions of *Spain*, the City of *Meſſina* had made a very conſiderable Figure, and obtain'd ſuch ample and advantageous Privileges, that ſhe ſeem'd rather a Republick within her little Diſtrict, than a Town under the Subjection of a Monarchy. Very few Cities went beyond her for Trade; She therein excell'd

moſt

moſt of the Empires in the World; Nor was there any, of her Bigneſs, in the *Mediterranean*, that pretended to come up with her in Riches. Such was *Meſſina*; and ſuch, perhaps, ſhe might have remain'd to this day, but for the fatal Friendſhip of *Lewis the Great*, who plunged her into Ruin deep without Reſſource.

THE Viceroy having laid new Duties upon certain Merchandizes, the *Meſſineze* exclaim'd againſt that Impoſition, as an Injury done 'em. Nor were the Agents and Penſioners of *France* wanting, on that Occaſion, to blow the Coal into ſuch a Flame, that, at laſt, they obliged thoſe unhappy People, by their flatt'ring Promiſes, and ſly Inſinuations, to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Yoke, and put themſelves under the Protection of *France*.

BUT it was not long, before the *Meſſineze* repented the Folly they had committed. Neither were the Arms of a Minor King, whom they had abandon'd, ſo much the Subject of their Repentance, as the Inſolencies continually offer'd 'em by the *French* Garriſon and Governour, whom they had receiv'd. In a word, the *French* behaving themſelves like Maſters, and not like Protectors, convinc'd the *Meſſineze*, but too late, that *they had leap'd out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire*. Nevertheleſs, the poor People, conſcious to themſelves, that they had given the King of *Spain* juſt Cauſe of Complaint, and finding, on the other hand, that it was impoſſible for 'em to diſengage themſelves from the *French*, ſhut their Eyes againſt the Rigours with which they were treated by thoſe Maſters, and reſolv'd to make their new Slavery as eaſy to 'em, as poſſible.

AFTER

After they had thus groan'd, for ſome Years, under the *French* Yoke; at laſt, an End was put to their unſpeakable Miſery. Monſieur *de la Feüillade* arriving at *Meſſina*, the 20th of *February*, 1678, with a conſiderable Fleet of Men of War, was receiv'd, by the *Meſſineze*, with all poſſible Tokens of Joy; aſſum'd the Title of Viceroy of *Sicily*; and took a Publick Oath, to defend the City againſt all that ſhould attack it. On the laſt day of the ſame *February*, that Gentleman aſſembled the Inhabitants, and told 'em, that he had Orders from his Maſter to undertake ſome Thing of Importance, in order to procure 'em a very conſiderable Advantage. This the deluded People immediately took to be, at leaſt, the Reduction of *Syracuſa*, and the reſt of the Iſland: And the better to keep them in their Blindneſs and Ignorance, Monſieur *de la Feüillade* order'd a great Number of Waggons, Mules, and Oxen, to be got ready, as if he deſign'd to tranſport Proviſions by Land; caus'd the *French* Garriſon of *Meſſina*, conſiſting of about 6000 Men, to re-embark, the 9th of *March*; ſhipp'd off ſeveral Pieces of heavy Artillery, juſt as if he intended to put his great Enterprize in Execution; ſet out from *Meſſina*, with loud Acclamations of the betray'd Inhabitants; and ſail'd directly for *France*, abandoning the poor Wretches to the Mercy of the incens'd *Spaniards*.

The next day, the *French* Fleet, meeting with a violent Storm, was obliged to return into the Bay of *Meſſina*; And the Citizens, ſtill perſuaded of the Sincerity of the Men who betray'd 'em, preſented the Admiral with a con-

conſecrated Flag, to ſet up at his Ship's Stern: But the Wind coming fair, the 15th of *March*, and the *French* Soldiers, who had landed, embarking again, in the greateſt Hurry, with all that ever they had left behind 'em, at their firſt Embarkation, made the *Meſſineze*, at laſt, ſuſpect, all of a ſudden, they were betray'd: Inſomuch that the People running to Monſieur *de la Feüillade*, juſt as he was upon the Point of leaving 'em, obliged him to return to the Town-Houſe, where he made a Speech to the *Meſſineze* tranſported with Rage and Fury; concluding with theſe mortifying Expreſſions: *In a word; I am commanded, by my Maſter, to carry his Troops back to* France: *You muſt, therefore, endeavour to defend yourſelves for Two Months, at whoſe Expiration I ſhall return. Mean while, if any of you have a mind to go to* France, *you may; provided you do it in good Order.*

THIS Thunder-Clap ſtruck the *Meſſineze* with ſuch a general Conſternation, that of all the Citizens, only 112 of the richeſt had the Reſolution to accept of the Offer. And indeed, They had no time to prepare for their Departure; for the *French* Fleet hoiſted Sail the next day, leaving *Meſſina*, never to ſee it more.

A SINGULAR Example this! of the Generoſity, and Faith, and Friendſhip of *Lewis* XIV. who hereby ruin'd one of the richeſt Cities of *Europe*, and condemn'd to the Gibbet above 300 of her principal Inhabitants, whom the *Spaniards* ſacrificed to their Reſentment, as ſoon as they had retaken *Meſſina*. And one of the unhappy Gentlemen, whom Monſieur

de

de la Feüillade carry'd off, who had been Conſul of the Place, and one of the wealthy'ſt Merchants in the *Levant*, was afterwards forc'd to beg his Bread in *France*.

To King Charles II.

We cannot doubt, but the Friendſhip of *Lewis* XIV. prov'd fatal to King *Charles* II. if we conſider, that as he was one of the moſt refin'd Politicians of his Age, ſo he might have been one of the greateſt Princes in *Europe*, were it not for his Adherence to the Intereſts of *France*. He aſcended the Throne in a very favourable Juncture; namely, at a Time, when his Subjects had been at Leiſure, to recover from their ſtupid Infatuation, of changing the Monarchy into a Republick. In ſhort, the Friendſhip that Prince cultivated with the *French* King, was the Source of all his Misfortunes at home, and the Reaſon for which Foreigners have not all the Veneration for his Memory, that his Subjects could have wiſh'd.

I don't believe, that any Lovers of their Country can eaſily forget the ill Succeſs of the Fleet, when being join'd by that of *France*, the latter remain'd bare Spectators of the Fight.

To the Turks.

'Tis reported of the *Jews*, that whenever they receive any conſiderable Diſgrace, they are wont to cry out, *This is a Relick of the Golden Calf.* But the great Revolutions we have ſeen in the *Ottoman* Empire, and the prodigious Loſſes the Infidels have ſuſtain'd, may more juſtly be imputed to the fatal Friendſhip of the *French* King; And from the Time that the *Turks* began to act in Concert with *France*, they may fix the Period of all their Misfortunes. For Inſtance; it was the Friendſhip

ſhip of *France*, that obliged them to break the Truce with the Empire, in order to invade *Hungary*, and lay Siege to *Vienna*: It was the Friendſhip of *Lewis* XIV. that occaſion'd the terrible Blow they receiv'd before that City, and the irreparable Loſs of *Buda*, *Belgrade*, and ſeveral other Places in *Hungary*. In a word: it was the Friendſhip of *France*, that induced the *Turks* to break off the Negotiations of Peace, when they came to *Vienna*, on purpoſe to make Propoſals. And if ever it happen, that that powerful Empire ſhould be bounded, on the Side of *Europe*, by the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, they muſt e'en blame themſelves, and the too-great Facility with which they ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſeduced by *French* Inſinuations, and guided by *French* Counſels.

I SHALL produce but one ſingle Inſtance, to prove how great Influence *Lewis the Great* had over the late depos'd *Sultan*, to induce him to declare War againſt the Emperor. It is, the Copy of a Letter which was found among the Count *de Teckely*'s Papers, taken in Upper *Hungary*, with Part of his Baggage. The Letter was written by the *French* King to the *Grand Seignior*, and laid before him ſeveral important Matters relating to his Kingdom of *Hungary*, concerning which he deſir'd him to repoſe an entire Confidence in his faithful Servant his Ambaſſador, and to reſt aſſur'd, that he would aſſiſt him in whatever might contribute to the Glory of their Arms, againſt their Common Enemy, *&c.* That Letter was dated at the Royal Palace of *Verſailles*, the 3d of *April*, 1681, and concluded thus: *Your Highneſs's good Friend, ancient Ally, and Confederate*, LOUIS.

I THINK, I need not go about to prove, that the *French* King's Friendſhip was fatal to the late King *James*. It is notorious to all the World; And, no doubt, that unfortunate, miſguided Prince was, too late, very ſenſible thereof. *Fatal to K. James.*

THE Elector of *Bavaria* made as conſiderable a Figure as any Prince of the Empire; and ſeem'd cut out for a Buttreſs to ſupport the Tott'ring Houſe of *Auſtria*. He had even Pretenſions to the Empire, or, at leaſt, to the Monarchy of *Spain*. He was already, by the Intereſt of the late King *William* and his Allies, inveſted in the Hereditary Government of the *Netherlands*. But, alas! no ſooner was he ſetled in that Poſt, but he ſuffer'd himſelf to be blindfolded by the Prince ambitious as himſelf. He liſten'd to the Propoſals of Advantage, which, peradventure, out-did, in Appearance, thoſe he might have drawn from the Empire and the Allies. In a word; he fell, with that Precipitation, into the Snares laid for him by *Lewis*, that he gave Entrance to his Troops into the ſtrong Places of the *Netherlands*, and thereby reduc'd himſelf to a very miſerable Condition. He has not only forfeited his Electorate, and loſt his Place among the Princes of the Empire; but even finds himſelf abandon'd by an Ally, who knows, no longer, where to ſtow him, nor what Poſt to give him in his Armies; tho' he was before look'd upon as a great General. *To the Elector of* Bavaria.

THE Elector of *Cologn*, his Brother, follow'd the ſame ſad Deſtiny, thro' Ingratitude baſe as the former's; for he ow'd his Advancement to the Electorate, entirely to the Allies. For Recom- *To that of* Cologn.

Recompenſe of his Conduct, he alſo has loſt his Country, and is forced to live like an Exile in fortify'd Towns; Nor is he ſo much as allow'd to chooſe the Place of his Reſidence.

And to the Duke of Mantua.

As for the Duke of *Mantua*, ſo imprudent was his Conduct, that from the Time he firſt abandon'd himſelf to *France*, his Territories became a Field of Blood. Being block'd up, and as it were, a Priſoner in his own Capital; he was glad to deſert it, run his Country, and retire to *Paris*. There he marry'd the Princeſs *d' Elbeuf*, whom he ſoon after brought back to *Mantua*; But the Affairs of *Italy* taking an unlucky Turn for *France*, by the Raiſing of the Siege of *Turin*, and the Defeat of the *French* before that Place; and thoſe Diſaſters having obliged the Count *de Medavi* to quit the *Mantuan* alſo, and Places adjacent, the Duke of that Name found himſelf abandon'd by his good Ally, who did not ſo much as pay him the Penſion he had promis'd him, for his Subſiſtence, till he ſhould be reinſtated in his Dominions, by the Peace. The Ducheſs, his Conſort, thus perceiving herſelf reduced to great Extremities took the Reſolution to retire into a Convent in *Lorrain*, among ſome Canoneſſes of her Family; And the Duke having long waited, at *Venice*, for *Part* only of the Penſion promiſed him, and finding the *French* King not ſo good as his Word, and ſo, that his Expectations were vain, went thence to *Padua*, and there wrote a very ſubmiſſive Letter to the Emperor, acknowledging his Crime, complaining grievouſly of the Ingratitude of *France*, and begging the Emperor his Sovereign's Pardon. But inſtead of receiving Favour undeſerv'd from

his Imperial Majeſty, he was deſervedly put to the Ban of the Empire. At laſt, perceiving himſelf abandon'd on all ſides, and wanting Bread to eat, he was found dead in his Chamber; Not without Suſpicion, that his Grief and Deſpair had induced him to poiſon himſelf.

Reflexion upon a Medal ſtruck in 1588.

The Confederate Powers never had ſo much Reaſon, as at preſent, to glance a Reflexion on the famous Medal, ſtruck above a hundred Years ago, when the *Spaniards* were making Preparations to invade *England*, with their invincible *Armada*. On one ſide, were *Two Oxen drawing a Plough*, and the Arms of *England* and *Holland* on the Right and Left-hand, with this Motto, TRAHITE ÆQVO IVGO, *Draw alike*: The Reverſe was, *Two ſorry Pots amidſt the Waves*, with this Device, FRANGIMVR, SI COLLIDIMVR, *If we claſh, we break*. Beneath was, 1588. All the Alteration that can be made in this Medal, to give a true Repreſentation of the Affairs of the preſent Times, is, to change the Middle-Figures, and, inſtead of 1558, make them 1708.

Lord Melford's *Argument to engage the Pope in* K. James's *Intereſt.*

The Lord *Melford* being ſent Ambaſſador to *Rome*, on the Part of King *James* II. made Uſe of a certain Common-Place, to engage the new Cardinal *Ottoboni*, to employ his Credit with the Pope his Uncle, in Favour of his Maſter. The grand Reaſon was this: *His Holineſs is obliged, by Intereſt, as well as the reſt of the Catholick Princes and States, to be an Enemy to the Prince of* Orange; *becauſe the Princes of that Family have always been the great Defenders of Hereſy, and occaſion'd the Separation of ſeveral Provinces from the Communion of the Church: But*

his Holineſs is more concern'd herein, than any one elſe; not only as he is Head of the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, but as a Temporal Prince too; inaſmuch as the Prince of Orange *would, if he could, trace the Steps of his Predeceſſor the Prince of* Orange, *who ſack'd and plunder'd* Rome, *in the Time of Pope* Clement VII. A pleaſant Argument this! and much like That whereby *Mahomet the Great* pretended to juſtify his Invading of *Greece*. *It is,* ſaid he, *becauſe I have reſolv'd to revenge the Death of my Predeceſſor* Hector, *whom the* Greeks *ſlew before the Walls of* Troy.

'Tis certain, that the late King *William* deſcended, in a Collateral Line, from the brave Prince of *Orange*, who took *Rome* by Aſſault, above 150 Years ago, at the Head of the Imperial Army: The unfortunate Conſtable de *Bourbon*, who commanded in chief, jointly with him, was kill'd before the Place. Nor is it leſs true, that he had the Honour to ſee St. *Peter's* pretended Succeſſor truckle to him for his Life and Liberty, upon Conſideration of 400000 Crowns in Gold, for his Ranſom, and the Surrender of Caſtle *St. Angelo* to the Prince, who took Poſſeſſion of the ſame, in the Name of the Emperor. His Holineſs likewiſe obliged himſelf to deliver up *Oſtia*, *Civita-vecchia*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Modena*, to his Imperial Majeſty; and himſelf remain'd Priſoner in Caſtle *St. Angelo*, till the Treaty was fully executed. But the Times are very much alter'd ſince that; and the Pope, in King *James*'s Reign, was too cunning, to let his Paſſion riſe to the Height of the Lord *Melford*'s, and revive that old Quarrel. And indeed, I believe, 'twill be a long while

while, before *Clement* VII's Ghoſt is appeas'd by any of his Succeſſors.

French *Auxiliaries have ſeldom ſucceeded.*

One would think, that Providence had fix'd the Bounds, within which all Nations ought to limit their Conqueſts, and beyond which their Arms are attended with a Series of ill ſucceſſes. Thus, 'tis obſerv'd, with Reaſon, that the *Romans* never paſs'd the *Euphrates*, but with conſiderable Loſs; And the famous Monſieur *de Thou* takes particular Notice, that for Two Ages together, the *French* never paſs'd a little River in *Lombardy*, without leaving ſeveral dead Bodies on t'other ſide, to dung the field.

We have already prov'd, by divers Examples, that *the Aſſiſtance of* Lewis XIV. *has never been lucky for thoſe who made Uſe thereof.* Permit us now to add, that moſt of his Predeceſſors, for ſome Ages, had the ſame Fate; For it does not appear, that ever they gain'd any conſiderable Advantage in foreign Countries, notwithſtanding the great Efforts they made here, or upon their Frontiers. The Kings of *France* have been call'd into *England* but once theſe 400 Years, by the King, in his War with the Barons; and we may learn, in Hiſtory, what Succeſs they then had here. About 130 Years ago, they went into *Scotland*, to aſſiſt the Queen againſt the Parliament; but, being as unfortunate there, as they had before been in *England*, gave Birth to all the Misfortunes that afterwards crowded in upon that unhappy Princeſs, and brought her, at laſt, from the Throne to the Scaffold.

Nor ſucceeded they better in protecting, about the ſame time, the States of *Holland*,

who had newly erected themselves into a Republick, against *Philip* II. King of *Spain*: For, the Duke *d'Alençon*, who had a Promise of the Sovereignty of the *Low-Countries*, was himself obliged to abandon his Pretensions, and make off with Precipitation, because the *Dutch* had discover'd his secret Practices for reducing 'em under Slavery.

A great many other Instances might be produced, to shew, that the Succours of *France* were of but little Advantage to such as employ'd 'em: Whereas, there is but one single one, in which their *Auxiliaries* justly deserv'd that Name; And that is, in the War of *Portugal*, where, it must be confess'd, the *French* did notable Service. But, on the other hand, 'tis undeniable, that their Army was then chiefly compos'd of *Protestants*, and commanded by a *Protestant* General.

Once successful, but by means of the Protestants.

The *English* have always set such a Value upon their Liberties and Privileges, that they thought they could never buy those inestimable Jewels too dear. Witness the Barons War, in the Reign of *Henry* III. which alone is sufficient, of innumerable other Instances. To oblige that Prince to confirm his Subjects of *England* in their *Magna Charta*, and other Native Privileges, besides the Rivers of Blood that were spilt upon that Occasion, it cost 'em above 800000 Pound Sterling. And tho' that Sum was then five times more than at present, and, consequently, amounted to four Millions, as Money goes now; yet a famous Historian has observ'd, upon this Subject, That *the* English *secur'd, by that means, their Liberties and Privileges; and that it was, therefore*

What the Barons War cost the English.

univer-

univerſally agreed, the Blood and Treaſure expended in that War, was well beſtow'd.

If the Reign of *Henry* III. be compar'd with that of *James* II. 'twill be found, that this laſt encroach'd, twice as much as the other, upon the Privileges of the Subject; and that his Attacks were of more dangerous Conſequence, ſince they were level'd againſt all that is accounted Sacred among Men.

K. Richard I's Ranſom.

Thus alſo our Anceſtors had ſuch an Eſteem for their good Kings, that they did not believe they could buy them too dear. For the bare Ranſom of *Richard* I. the *Engliſh* chearfully gave the *Fourth Part* of the *Revenue* both of *Seculars* and *Eccleſiaſticks*, with the *Tenth* of all their *Money* and *Cattle*; beſides which, they laid a Tax of *Twenty Shillings* upon every *Fief*, and gave *a hundred Weight* of *Silver*, which was taken from the *Chalices* and *Croſſes* of the *Churches*. The only Motive that induc'd 'em to furniſh ſuch conſiderable Sums, was the Love they had for a wiſe, and juſt, and magnanimous Prince; For, the People then ran no Riſque of their Lives, their Liberties, or Religion; And the Government ſuffer'd but very little, if at all, upon Account of King *Richard's* Captivity.

Europe's Intereſt in the late K. of Spain's Marriage.

That all *Europe* was highly concern'd in the Marriage of the late King of *Spain* with the Princeſs of *Newburg*, will appear from the following Conſiderations.

Conſiderations upon the State of the Houſe of Auſtria.

1. The Houſe of *Auſtria*, from *Rodolph of Hapsburg*, (who firſt tranſmitted the Imperial Crown to his Family) to *Maximilian*, ſeem'd to be confin'd to *High-Germany*; ſince only thoſe Countries, which we now call the Em-

peror's *Hereditary Countries*, then contain'd ev'ry Foot of Land they had. But *Maximilian* laid the firſt Foundation of the Power and Grandeur to which that Houſe is ſince arriv'd, by marrying *Mary of Burgundy*, Heireſs to the Seventeen Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, and *Franche-Comté*, of which the *French* King, not long ago, poſſeſs'd himſelf. And yet, notwithſtanding *Maximilian*'s prodigious Riſe, our Anceſtors had the Honour to ſee that Emperor fight under *Engliſh* Banners, and in *Engliſh* Pay, and wear the Collar of the Order of St. *George*: So glorious a Figure did the *Engliſh* Monarchy make, even in thoſe days.

2. The ſecond Step to the Grandeur of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, was the Marriage of *Philip* *Maximilian*'s Son, with *Joanna*, Heireſs to the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*; and this was, perhaps, the beſt Match ever ſeen in *Europe*. Nor ſhould it ſeem trifling, to obſerve, by the by, that that Princeſs was one of the moſt authentick and glaring Proofs of the Vanity of humane Grandeur; For, ſoon after her Marriage, ſhe loſt her Senſes, lived a long while in that Condition, and was ſo ill-ſerv'd, that even the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians agree, *it was often Six-a-Clock at Night, before ſhe breakfaſted*; *and ſhe was many times weary of her Life, not having ſo much as Straw to lie on.*

3. The Houſe of *Auſtria* was in the higheſt Pitch of her Glory, in the Reign of *Charles V* (eldeſt Son of *Philip* afore-mention'd) who was indeed, one of the greateſt *Chriſtian* Monarchs ſince *Charlemain*; being Emperor of *Germany*, King of *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*,

Arch

Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, Duke of *Milan*, Sovereign of the Seventeen Provinces of the *Netherlands*, and of *Franche-Comté*; and, to ſay all in one Word, Maſter of Two Golden Kingdoms lately diſcover'd, *Mexico* and *Peru*.

After the ſurprizing Retreat of *Charles* V. the Houſe of *Auſtria* divided itſelf into Two Branches: The firſt had, for his Part, the Kingdoms of *Spain*, and all the other Territories poſſeſs'd by the ſaid Emperor, except that Part of *Germany*, which was formerly, and is ſtill, call'd the *Hereditary Countries*; and theſe were allotted to the ſecond Branch, from whom the preſent Emperor is deſcended: And his late Catholick Majeſty was the laſt ſurviving Male of the firſt Branch.

These Particulars were neceſſary to evince, that it was of infinite Concernment to *Europe*, to take care, the firſt Branch of the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſhould not be extinct in the Perſon of King *Charles* II. of *Spain*; And it was ſo much the more important, in that the ſecond Branch was farther off from the firſt, (whether in relation to Diſtance of Place, or that of Blood) than another Prince, who watch'd, with Impatience, the Opportunity of tranſmitting to his Family the Univerſal Monarchy, by adding the Territories of the Crown of *Spain* to the vaſt and extenſive Dominions which he was poſſeſs'd of before.

Every body knows, how greatly it concern'd the *Spaniards*, to hinder the *French* King from ſucceeding to the Crown of *Spain*. 'Twas under a Senſe of this, that in the Contract of Marriage between *Lewis* XIII. and the Infanta *Anne*, as well as in that between *Lewis* XIV.

and *Mary Thereſia*, Siſter to his late Catholick Majeſty, the *Spaniards* obliged the *French* to renounce, by moſt ſolemn Oaths, whatever Pretenſions they might have to the Crown of *Spain*, in caſe of Default of Iſſue-Male to ſucceed thereto. But 'tis as notorious, that *Lewis* XIV. has laid no great Streſs, either on his Oaths or Promiſes, as often as he thought his Obſerving the ſame would be prejudicial to his Intereſt and Ambition.

The Extravagance of certain Perſons compar'd with Pope Bennet XIII's.

WHEN I conſider the Ridicule of a certain Sett of Men, (thoſe eſpecially, who are the moſt knowing among 'em) and reflect upon their Eagerneſs to rend their Schiſm in the CHURCH OF ENGLAND yet wider; it brings to my Mind the extravagant Folly of the famous *Peter de Luna*, alias Pope *Benedict* XIII. whoſe Hiſtory follows, in few Lines.

PETER DE LUNA had, by his auſtere and ſolitary way of Living, inſpir'd the *French*, as well as his Countrymen the *Spaniards*, with ſuch a Conceit of his Sanctity, that they were even tranſported, at his Advancement to the higheſt Dignity in the Church. He kept his See, in that Quality, for ſeveral Years, at *Avignon*, tho' there were Competitors, at the ſame Time, at *Rome*, who pretended to be inveſted in the ſame holy Office.

THO' *Peter de Luna* had, before his Advancement to the Papal Chair, ſolemnly promis'd the King of *France*, that he would conſtantly adhere to his Intereſts, and do all that lay in his Power, to put an end to the Schiſm, which had rent the Church for above 90 Years, without Intermiſſion; Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as he found himſelf in Poſſeſſion of the Triple-Crown,

Crown, he regarded nothing leſs, than his Promiſes to thoſe who had rais'd him to it; and ſo, baffled their Expectations. This ſo enraged the King of *France*, that he caus'd him to be impriſon'd, and ſoon after procured an Aſſembly of the States to declare, that he had forfeited his new Dignity. Whereupon, *Peter de Luna* had the Impudence to publiſh a Bull of Excommunication againſt the King of *France*, and order'd a Form of Prayer to be ſaid againſt him in all the Churches.

HOWEVER, *Peter de Luna* was, at laſt, depos'd, in the Council of *Conſtance*, holden in the Year 1414; and the great Schiſm ſuppreſs'd, by the Promotion of *Martin* V. to the Papal Chair. But this ſame *Peter* was ſo hot upon the Matter, and ſo ſtrangely wedded to his own Opinion, that retiring, in Solitude, to a certain Place in *Spain*, attended only by Two Cardinals, who adhered to him, and made themſelves Partakers of his good or bad Fortune, he abſolutely reſolv'd to keep up the Shadow, at leaſt, and formal Shew of the Dignity from which he had fallen, as long as he liv'd, which was not a great while: And even upon his Death-Bed, he was ſo careful to perpetuate the Schiſm, that, to the laſt Gaſp, he recommended to his little Conclave, conſiſting of Two Cardinals, to chooſe one to ſucceed him in the Popedom, after his Death; and that, *he ſaid*, for the Good of the Church. And indeed, the Cardinals, no leſs foppiſh than their Pope, punctually obey'd him, and elected one *Giles Mugnos*, who

who aſſum'd the Title of *Clement* VIII. but this Phantom preſently vaniſh'd.

Nevertheless, as tho' 'twere not enough for *Peter's* ridiculous Partiſans, to admire his Sanctity, during his Life-time; they would, even after his Death, perſuade People, there was ſomething Miraculous in his dead Body; in that, Six Years after, *it was found entire, and afforded a pleaſant Smell.* Agreeable hereto, the *Spaniſh* Writers, and even the late Father *Maimbourg* himſelf, who did not acknowledge *Peter de Luna* for Pope, do unanimouſly affirm, without the leaſt Scruple, that his Body is entire at *Igluera*, in *Arragon*, to this very day.

From this remarkable Inſtance of the Bigottry of ſome Men, who never flinch in their Opinion, but ſometimes ſtand out againſt the whole World, we may ſafely conclude, that 'tis no difficult Matter to find Abettors, if one has but the Dexterity to ſeize the Outworks of Sanctity, and make a Pother about his Zeal for the Church.

We need not be ſurpriz'd, that the *Roman* Empire made ſuch an illuſtrious Figure in the World; ſince Fidelity and an inviolable Love for their Country were the eſſential and inſeparable Qualities of the *Romans*. Nor more, on the other hand, that ſo many Aſſaults have been made, for theſe forty Years paſt, againſt the Liberties of *Europe*; ſince there are factious and turbulent Spirits enow, in all Countries, eager to ſell themſelves for almoſt Nothing, and baſely betray their Native Country. Such as know how *Lewis* XIV. has managed the Tack, know too, that he is indebted to his

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Louis-d'ors, for moſt of his Conqueſts, and almoſt all the Grandeur to which he is arriv'd. And a *French* Author has given a very juſt Character of him, as to that Point, under Pretence of writing the Life of *Philip* of *Macedon*, of whom 'tis ſaid, *He knew no Town ſo ſtrong, but that an Aſs, loaded with Gold, could have Entrance into it.*

We will skip over the ſorrowful Examples, that might be fetch'd from home, of this kind of Treachery, and the Baſeneſs of ſome Men, in betraying their Native Country, as is daily ſeen by new Diſcoveries; and only hint at one that happen'd in *Holland*, where Two unfortunate Traitors ſuffer'd the Puniſhment due to their Crime, which was, a Deſign to deliver up the ſtrong Town of *Sluice* to the *French*.

Character of the Duke de Montauſier.

After the Court of *France* had turn'd rank *Jeſuite*, and ſworn the Deſtruction of the *Proteſtants*, the Duke *de Montauſier* was the only Perſon that durſt ſecond the late Prince of *Condé*, and endeavour to ward off the Blow. Thoſe two great Men did, however, prevail with the *French* King to recal his bloody Declaration, ordering the Maſſacre of all the *Proteſtants* of *France*, in the Year 1683, which the King had been obliged, for particular and ſecret Reaſons, to put into the Hands of Father *la Chaiſe*. But 'tis thought, that Act of Generoſity coſt the Prince of *Condé* his Life, and render'd Monſieur *de Montauſier* uncapable of Affairs of Secrecy, ever ſince.

'Tis dangerous for a General to be too obſtinate in a Siege.

Of all the Exploits of War, there's none, wherein a General can give better Proofs of his Wiſdom, than in a Siege. The Obſtinacy of *Francis* I. before *Pavia*, loſt him a Battle,

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the Duchy of *Milan*, and his own Liberty. We find, in the Writings of the illuſtrious and ingenious Princeſs of *Alençon*, that King's Siſter, which are kept in the *French* King's Library, an exact Relation of that Battle, and how the King was taken. *The King*, ſays ſhe, *being wounded in the Face, quite cover'd over with Blood and Duſt, and buried under his Horſe, which lay dead upon him, was ſoon perceiv'd by one* Comperan, a French *Soldier*; *who, having hinder'd two* Spaniards *from killing him in that Condition, call'd the Conſtable* de Bourbon *(who then commanded the Imperial Army) to receive the King*; *But his Majeſty no ſooner ſaw* Bourbon, *but he cry'd out he'd rather die a thouſand times, than ſurrender himſelf into the Hands of a Traitor*; *Whereſoever calling to the Prince of* Orange, *who was one of the Emperor's Generals, he told him, 'twas more agreeable, for a Sovereign Prince, to ſurrender to one that was ſo too.* It was by Means of the ſame Prince of *Orange*, that the Houſe of *Naſſau* became Heirs to the Principality of *Orange*. Much like the former, was the Obſtinacy of the Duke *de la Feüillade* in the Siege of *Turin*, which occaſion'd the Loſs of a Battle, and depriv'd the *French* of ev'ry Foot of Ground they had gain'd in *Italy*.

A Trick of the Jeſuites *to extirpate the* Proteſtants.

No ſooner had the Duke of *Newburg* taken Poſſeſſion of the *Palatinate*, by Right of Succeſſion, but an Affair happen'd, which clearly evinces, that it is one of the main Principles of a certain Order of *Roman*-Catholicks, to extirpate what they call *Hereſy*, at any rate; and which ſhould move us to lament the Fate of thoſe Princes, who abandon themſelves to the Counſels of that Society. The Report was cur-

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rent, not only at *Heidelberg*, but throughout all *Europe*, that the *Jeſuites* had ſuborn'd a Spirit of the other World, to buz, every Night, into the new Prince *Palatine*'s Ears, that *if he did not extirpate Hereſy and Hereticks out of his Dominions, he ſhould be damn'd for ever*. The Prince, tired, at laſt, with thoſe Viſions, found means to rid himſelf of his impertinent Counſellor, by the Aſſiſtance of one of his Officers, who obliged Mr. *Spirit*, by Dint of Cane, to confeſs the whole Intrigue. An Account of this Affair was printed, with the *Jeſuites* Anſwer, and Hiſtorian's Reply. So much did thoſe Gentlemen think themſelves concern'd, to clear themſelves of a Crime, which was known to all the Proteſtants of the *Palatinate*, and, indeed, to all the *Roman*-Catholicks too, except ſuch as were blind Admirers of thoſe Monks.

Famous Authority of a Roman Faculty and a Proteſtant Synod, who agree, that it is lawful to revolt from a Sovereign who is guilty of Oppreſſion.

In the Year 1644, the *Catalans*, not able longer to brook the Pride and Tyranny of the Court of *Spain*, revolted from the Viceroy and other Miniſters ſent from *Madrid*, and put themſelves under the Protection of *Lewis* XIII. who ſent Monſieur *de Marca* to *Catalonia*, with the Character of Super-Intendant of Matters of Judicature. Soon after, Don *Joſeph Margaret* was ſent to *Paris*, by the States of that Country, to aſſure his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty of their Reſolution, not to acknowledge any other Sovereignty, than that of *France*. Their Reaſons ran altogether upon the Oppreſſion, Arbitrarineſs, and abſolute Government of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, which they affirm'd to be ſufficient Grounds, for revolting from a Prince who treated 'em after that manner. Thereupon, the *French* King order'd Monſieur *de Marca* to make

make an Apology for that Revolt, and caus'd the ſame to be diſtributed in moſt of the Courts of *Europe*. The principal, and, I had almoſt ſaid, the only good, Reaſon, whereon that famous and learned Gentleman lays the greateſt Streſs, in his *Apology*, is the Oppreſſion of the *Spaniards*, and their Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the *Catalans*. That Book was printed in the Year 1647.

BUT the Court of *France*, not content with the ſingle Performance of Monſieur *de Marca*, to proclaim the Juſtice of that Revolt, order'd the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris*, and the Synod of the *Proteſtant* Churches, aſſembled at *Charenton*, to deliver their Sentiment of the Matter. And the ſolemn Deciſion, both of the Faculty, and Synod, was, That *the States of* Catalonia *might not only ſhake off their Allegiance to* Spain, *upon Account of notorious Oppreſſion, and the Violation of their Privileges; but that they might even transfer their Loyalty and Obedience to the Court of* France.

A curious Reflexion of Darius.

DARIUS, the laſt King of the *Perſians*, hearing of *Alexander*'s generous Treatment of his Wife and Children, who were become his Captives, ſaid to thoſe about his Perſon; *I now look upon the Empire of the* Perſians *as loſt, and the Monarchy whereof* Cyrus *laid the firſt Foundations, as ready to ſink; ſince evil Fate has rais'd up an Enemy againſt me, who gains over the Gods to his Party, by Acts of Vertue and Juſtice.*

A pretty Remark upon Scipio.

CICERO, ſpeaking of *Scipio Africanus*, the famous Conqueror of *Carthage*, gives a particular Account of ſome uncommon Paſſages of his Life, and then adds; *Thoſe little extraordinary*

rdinary and ſurprizing Events, which ſometimes tend the Life of Great Men, do no leſs contribute to the Setting off the Glory of a Hero, and he Beauty of his Character, than the Events which azzle moſt the Eyes of the Publick.

THE glorious Life of *Ceſar* had the ſame fate. Never did Man do more than he, in the field of Battle; and yet it may be truly ſaid of hat Hero, that the Vertue, Magnanimity, and Viſdom, which he ſhew'd at the Battles of *harſalia* and *Munda*, ſcarce amounted to the reatneſs of Soul, and Preſence of Mind, which e manifeſted, in his Paſſage from *Otranto* to *runduſium*. That Action was a Maſter-piece, nd is one of the *curious* Places of the Hiſtory f that illuſtrious *Roman*. He conquer'd the *auls* and *Britains*, by his other glorious Achievements; and, to ſay all in one Word, he nquiſh'd *Pompey*. But in the famous and danerous Paſſage of a narrow Sea, he vanquiſh'd *ſar*, and, as it were, out-did himſelf. Thus, was in a ſmall open Boat; in the Preſence on- of Two or Three of his Men; within the loomy Curtains of Night and Darkneſs; and midſt the Waves of a boiſterous, agitated Sea; hat one of the moſt glorious Actions of that reat Emperor's Life ſhone forth. And 'twas that diſmal Solitude, that *Ceſar* gave the moſt demonſtrative Proofs of his *invincible* uality, in a Manner very agreeable to that xiom of Philoſophy, which was ſeldom out f his Mouth; to-wit, that *Fortune can do Vertue no Harm.*

Another upon Ceſar.

HERODOTUS tells us, that *Xerxes* went in- *Greece*, with an Army of 1500000 Men; and hat he join'd Two diſtant Parts of the World, by

Pride puniſh'd by Heaven, in the Perſon of Xerxes.

by a Bridge of Boats for his Men to paſs over A Work, which ſeem'd to defy the Power o Man, and to do Violence even to Nature her ſelf! That he fill'd the Sea with a Fleet o 1000 great Ships, which, with their Atten dants, took up the Space of about 4000 *Gre cian* Furlongs! Nevertheleſs, his Army an Fleet being entirely defeated, that Prince wa at laſt, forced to repaſs, in a little Fiſher Boat, the ſame *Helleſpont*, which, ſome days be fore, he had croſs'd over on a Bridge; ſo th He, who had lately been Maſter of 1000 Ship was then glad of a ſorry little Bark, in whic he was not ſafe, till two *Perſian* Satraps thre themſelves over-board, to lighten her, and, b that means, ſav'd their Maſter's Life, at the E pence of their own. *By this Change of Fortune, t Gods had a mind to ſhew their abſolute Power ov Mortals, and in what Manner, Fate, of which Th are the only Diſpenſers, ſports with humane Affa* Afterwards, that Author goes on— *Had* Xer *receiv'd that Reverſe of Fortune with Submiſſi and not render'd himſelf unworthy the Favour of t Gods, by the ſhameful Manner in which he depr ted himſelf; Had not he, when he landed, cau the Maſter of the Veſſel to be empal'd alive, f taking more Paſſengers on board, than he could ca ry; Why, one might reaſonably conclude, ſome pr pitious Deity had expos'd him to that Danger, ſet off his Vertue with greater Luſtre.*

Conſequences of the famous Battle of Arbella.

'Twas the famous Battle of *Arbella*, th decided the Fate of the Monarchy of the *Pe ſians* and *Greeks*; or rather, of that of the U niverſe. In the preceding Battle, *Alexand* had purſu'd and taken the Mother, Wife, a Daughters of *Darius*. The Two Armies bei engage

engaged, Advice was brought to *Parmenio*, that a Prince of *Scythia*, at the Head of 10000 of the braveſt Troops in *Darius*'s Army, had forced the Camp, and was upon the Point of retaking the Princeſſes of *Perſia*, and with them the ineſtimable Spoils of the Eaſt. *Parmenio* was immediately for making a Detachment of 10000 *Greeks* to prevent that Loſs; But *Alexander*, having a better Notion of the Matter, than his old General, forbad it; and alledg'd this Reaſon for what he did. *Should we weaken our Army*, ſaid he, *and loſe the Battle, by endeavouring to defend our Camp, our Ruin were beyond Queſtion, irrecoverable: But if, with our united Forces, we happily gain the Victory; then it follows, on courſe, that not only the Princeſſes and the Camp will be ours again, but even the Empire of the* Perſians *will become our Empire.* The Event juſtify'd *Alexander*'s Opinion; for, in getting the Battle, they recover'd their Camp, and all that they had loſt therein. Nor was that all: They made ſuch an Addition to their Riches and Conqueſts, as completed the Second Univerſal Monarchy.

Reflexions upon the Burning of Whitehall.

A CERTAIN *Roman* Emperor bewail'd his Misfortune, that a devouring Peſtilence, or the univerſal Cataſtrophe of Mankind, did not happen in his Reign: And the ſame noble and generous Spirit has e'er now appear'd in *England!* Naturaliſts tell us, that Exceſs of Joy has ſometimes occaſion'd a ſudden Death; And certain Perſons in this Iſland had run that Hazard, if, after the News of the Taking of *Mons*, they could have glutted their Eyes with the Burning of *Whitehall*. But what a Loſs had it been to the World, if ſuch an Exceſs of

Pleaſure had ſent thoſe who rejoiced at that Fire, to keep Company with their noble Pattern of old Times, who play'd upon his Harp, while the * Miſtreſs of the World was in Flames?

*Roma Caput Mundi.

We read, in Hiſtory, of two Pieces of Folly, or Ill-Nature, or Madneſs, or whatever elſe you pleaſe, agreeable to theſe. The firſt is that of the immortal *Nero*; I ſay, *immortal*, becauſe Men immortalize themſelves by Crimes of the deepeſt Dye, as well as by Acts of the brighteſt Vertue: Both theſe are equally ſerviceable in preſerving ones Memory from Oblivion; And upon that ſcore, it would be unreaſonable, for a Prince, now living, to aſſume the Title of Immortal, for having laid about ſome Twenty or Thirty Towns in Aſhes, which, all together, were not worth the fifth Part of *Old Rome*. Nor leſs injurious, to deny the ſame Title to another Prince, who taught him his Leſſon, by turning that ſtately City into a Heap of Rubbiſh.

The Records of *Burgundy* mention a ſecond Example of Madneſs, in a Woman that was condemn'd and executed, for ſetting Fire, of purpoſe, to the Town of *Louvain*. When the Judges demanded, what Motives had induced her to commit a Crime of that Nature? the Wretch had nothing to ſay for herſelf, ſave that ſhe had not done it out of Spite againſt any one, but purely for the Pleaſure ſhe took in ſeeing rich, ſtately Buildings on Fire. A ridiculous Pleaſure this! if ever any there were; and ſuch as one would ſcarce believe Mankind to be capable of, without the Teſtimony of Examples.

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THE Action of *Eroſtrates*, who burnt the Temple of *Diana* and himſelf, only to eternize his Memory, had abundance more of Reaſon in it, than that of *Nero*, and the Woman of *Louvain*; or, than that of their new Diſciples. *Eroſtrates* was deſirous to perpetuate his Memory at any rate; and, to compaſs his Deſign, reſolv'd to die, as deſpiſing the Immortality, which would not coſt him his Life. Thus, methinks, there is ſome Appearance of Generoſity in *Eroſtrates*'s Madneſs, in that, after he had (to immortalize his Name) burnt a ſtately and magnificent Structure, in building whereof, all *Aſia* had been employ'd ſome hundreds of Years, and which was juſtly rank'd among the Seven Wonders of the World, he would not ſurvive the Deſtruction of ſo noble an Edifice.

Another Reflexion.

OFT have I deplor'd the Condition of the ancient Philoſophers, for their invincible Ignorance, with reſpect to the Providence of God, which governs all the World. They perceiv'd, that Vice triumph'd moſt frequently in the World; and that Vertue was treated therein after a very rugged manner. They daily ſaw Fools happy, and Wiſemen miſerable. And ſo it came to paſs, that ſome of 'em, reaſoning about that Diſparity, imputed it to a blind Fate, on which depended not Man alone, but even the Gods. For our parts, therefore, who have nobler and more glorious Ideas of the Godhead, than the moſt learned Heathens cou'd ever attain to, by the Help of their Reaſon, let us take care we ſtumble not upon thoſe Things which they attributed to Fate.

MEAN time, maugre all the Precepts of a Religion which has been reveal'd to us, 'tis

hard to reflect on some of the Accidents of humane Life, without having Recourse to that Precept of an inspir'd Author, *This is too high for me; I cannot attain unto it.*

The Romans *Aversion for those who betray'd their Country.*

THE *Romans* had such an Aversion for the Miscreants who betray'd their Country, that they would never take Advantage of the Baseness of such Fellows. Having besieged a Town in their Neighbourhood, which gall'd 'em in the very Heart of *Italy*; a sorry Traitor, in Hopes of Reward, convey'd the Children of the principal Inhabitants into their Camp, in order, by that means, to oblige their Parents to surrender the Place. But the *Romans*, far from encouraging the Treachery, and taking Advantage of the Wretch's Villany, chose rather to send back the Traitor into the Town, there to receive from the Hands of the very Children he would have betray'd, the Reward due to his Treachery, than to seem to authorize a Crime, which they thought so contrary to Nature.

A bold Enterprize managed by the Monks.

THE last Age produced an Example of the bewitching Power of Priest-craft, in a Place where one would have least expected it. All *Europe* has heard of the famous Conspiracy, which the Marquis *de Bedmar*, Ambassador of *Spain* at *Venice*, and the Duke *d' Ossuna*, Viceroy of *Naples*, form'd against that Republick, in the Year 1618. Tho' the Duke *d' Uceda*, Secretary of *Spain*, had advis'd him to abandon that Enterprize, for several Reasons; but particularly, *because* Venice *was a Government, wherein he would not be able to get Assistance, either from the Women, or Monks, or Favourites*; yet that accomplish'd Statesman found Means to engage several

ral Monks, and, by their Means, ſeveral Senators, in the Affair.

No Man would have believ'd, that ever any of thoſe Senators would ſuffer himſelf to be thus ridden by the Prieſts. But thoſe ſanctify'd, zealous Impoſtors, left no Stone unturn'd, to compaſs their Ends; as has been obſerv'd by one of the fineſt Writers that ever took Pen in hand, in the following Lines: *The Prieſts and Monks*, ſays he, *whom the Marquis had gain'd, us'd all their Cunning, to perſuade the moſt ignorant and bigotted among the Senators, that they could not, in Conſcience, maintain the Intereſts of a Government, which the Pope had excommunicated; And, that tho' his Holineſs had lately given up his Pretenſions, and revoked the Sentence of Excommunication that had been publiſh'd againſt the * Republick; yet, as this was done meerly out of Policy, they might aſſure themſelves, the Pontiff, as to his Intention, had not taken off the Excommunication; but that it was ſtill in Force by mental Reſervation, which he might lawfully uſe. Thereupon, the leſs knowing among the Senators, began to fancy themſelves in a State of Damnation, ſo long as they thus maintain'd a Republick ſtruck with the Thunder of the* Vatican; *and, conſequently, that they could be, no longer*, Venetians. — We may conclude, from this and infinite other Examples, how unhappy thoſe Countries are, that lie under the Pope's Laſh.

* Meaning the Affair of Pope Paul V. againſt the Venetians.

The reſt of *Europe* ſuſtain'd a great Loſs in the Death of Pope *Innocent* XI. who was a declar'd Enemy to the great Diſturber of their Repoſe: But *France* was deliver'd from a more dangerous and formidable Enemy, by the Death of *Alexander* VIII. his Succeſſor. The former was too hot, and ſhort in Politicks; the

A Compariſon between Two Popes, with reſpect to their Hatred for the French *King.*

And that the latter was a more dangerous Enemy, than the former.

latter had enough of Fire, but was cloſe and reſerv'd withal, and would never ſtrike, but when he knew he could do it with Safety. He therein acted the Part of a true *Venetian*. He had an Averſion for Slavery, and for thoſe that endeavour'd to introduce it; but was ſo careful to conceal what he had a mind to do againſt *France*, that Nothing would ever have broke out, till All things were ready for Execution. Tho' the Mine was made in *Italy*, the greateſt and ſureſt Branch of it was carry'd into the very Heart of *France*; where it would have taken the firſt Fire. In ſhort, had that Pontiff liv'd but ſome few Months longer, *Lewis* had been thunder-ſtruck with a formal Excommunication, ſo effectually ſupported, and ſo well concerted, that, in all humane Probability, it would have made a greater Hurly-burly, than any the Age produced. To infer from hence, that 'tis not impoſſible to execute, at any time, a Project, which, perhaps, is now look'd upon as bury'd with the Pope, we need only caſt our Eyes on a Matter, than which nothing is more publick. 'Tis notorious to all the World, with how great Envy the *Jeſuites* have carry'd ſuch a Sway at the Court of *France*, ſince the Acceſſion of *Lewis* XIV. to the Crown. As thoſe Gentlemen have had the ſole Management of Affairs, ſo have they alſo born the Blame of all. Upon this ſcore it is, that they are become the Abomination of the other Orders of the Church of *Rome*, and the Averſion of all the Laity, except a few Court-Paraſites. The whole *French* Nation have ſhewn, on many Occaſions, their Hatred to that Order;

er; And if ever they meet with an Opportunity of revenging themſelves upon the Men whom they regard as the Authors, Promoters, and Inſtruments of all the Miſeries under which they groan, the *Jeſuites* will come to a very Tragical End. And hence we may conclude, how eaſy it had been for a cunning Pope to have blown the Coals between the other Monks, and the *Jeſuites*, and to inſtil into 'em, by their *Generals*, who are always at *Rome*, an univerſal Hatred againſt the Government, which, to oblige an Order of Men every where deteſted, has depriv'd 'em of moſt of their Privileges, and laid the reſt of the Nation in Chains.

Philip II's *Enterprize upon* England.

AMONG the many immenſe Projects of King *Philip* II. one was, to join *England* to *Spain*, by Conqueſt. The Juſtice of the Pretenſions of *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, to the Crown of *England*, was then the Subject of the *Roman*-Catholicks, and other Malecontents, tow'ring Hopes. Thoſe Gentlemen call'd the illuſtrious Queen *Elizabeth* an Uſurper; and the only End of all their Cabals and Conſpiracies was, to dethrone a *Proteſtant* Queen, and ſet up a *Papiſt* in her room. The King of *Spain* knew well enough, how to manage thoſe kind of Perſons; and tho' he lur'd 'em with the Hopes of placing their pretended lawful Sovereign upon the Throne; nevertheleſs, Queen *Mary*'s Pretenſions ſerv'd him only for a Cloak, to hide his real Deſign, which was no leſs, than the making of *England* a Kingdom altogether dependent on him; not to ſay, he would, by Right of Conqueſt, have made it a Province of *Spain*. For this end, he made the

the greateſt Preparations, both by Sea and Land that had been ſeen for ſeveral Ages: All his Neighbours were alarm'd at the Storm which threaten'd 'em: Every one might make Conjectures at the Drift of all this Ado; But none was let into the Secret, except his Catholick Majeſty's Firſt Miniſter, and his Secretary of State.

Queen *Elizabeth* had Reaſon, indeed, to ſuſpect, that this Cloud would break over her Head; but ſhe had far greater, to think it would fall on the *Low-Countries*, becauſe he had already made divers fruitleſs Efforts to reduce 'em under his Obedience. To diſcover Secret of that Depth and Importance, Sir *Francis Walſingham* was puzzl'd for ſome time; but made ſo good Uſe of his Addreſs and Cunning, that, at laſt, he was inform'd, *Philip* had written a Letter to his Holineſs, with his own Hand, upon that Subject. Then upon, he play'd his Cards ſo dexterouſly, that by means of a *Venetian* Prieſt, whom he kept at *Rome*, for a Spy, he procured a Copy of that Letter, the Original being ſtoln out of the Pope's Cabinet, by an Officer of the Bed Chamber, whom the Prieſt had engaged, by Money, to take the Key of the Cabinet out of the Pope's Pocket, whilſt his Holineſs was aſleep. This Inſtance is ſufficient to prove what a Spy can do, and the Neceſſity of Intelligence for the better ordering of Affairs of the laſt Importance. So ſeaſonable a Diſcovery was very happy for *England*; tho' prov'd fatal to the Queen of *Scots*.

The Neceſſity and Uſefulneſs of Spies.

In King *Charles* II's Reign, an Affair happen'd, which few Perſons can account for

The

That Prince was obliged, by his Parliament, to declare War againſt *France*, and receiv'd a great Sum of Money, to carry it on. The Parliament and Nation were in earneſt, and enter'd into this War, as if it had been the only good Reſolution their King had taken, ſince his Reſtauration. But King *Charles* was ty'd to the Court of *France*, with the Bonds of too ſtrict a Friendſhip; and that Friendſhip was too well cultivated by the Duke of *York*'s Party, to ſuffer the War to be puſh'd, whatever Reaſons we had to puſh it. It was, however, declar'd, and the King in Jeſt, the Parliament in Earneſt, made uſe of all poſſible Means. But ſo far was the King from acting with Sincerity, during that imaginary War, that not a Week paſs'd, without a Commerce of the moſt tender Letters, between a certain Party in *England* and the Miniſters of *France*, and even between the Two Kings themſelves. *K. Charles II's Sham-War with France.*

The Parliament addreſs'd the King to carry on the War with greater Vigour, and to recal a Regiment of *Scots*, which had been ſeveral Years in the Service of that Crown, and conſiſted of near 6000 Men, always commanded by one *Douglas*, and then by the Earl of *Dumbarton*. It was indeed, the fineſt Nurſery, and only good School the Kings of *England* had, to train up their Youth in the Art of War: But the Parliament and Council, taking Umbrage at the Deſign of the Two Kings, inſiſted upon its being recall'd.

The Regiment, therefore, being ſent for home, purſuant to a Treaty made between the Two Kings, the Council of *France* left no Stone unturn'd, to keep it back; inſomuch that the *Regiment of Dumbarton recall'd.*

Earl

Earl of *Dumbarton*, at laſt, roundly told the *French* King, *he'd rather live upon Bread and Water in* England, *than enjoy, in* France, *all the Grandeur his Majeſty could promiſe him*; *ſince his Maſter had commanded him to return*; which that Lord did afterwards, at his Expence, ſhew himſelf capable of putting in Execution. Thereupon, the Council of *France* perceiving how difficult it would be, to keep that Regiment, Monſieur *le Tellier* perſuaded the King to ſend it back, alledging, that it was his Intereſt ſo to do. His principal Reaſon was, that *it had been the conſtant Policy of* France, *ever ſince King* Charles's *Reſtauration, to uſe all Methods, to break the* Engliſh *of making War, and eſpecially, by Land*; *and, by way of Correſpondence, to lull aſleep a Courage, which had ſignaliz'd their Predeceſſors in the Wars of* France *and* Flanders; *That the Regiment of* Dumbarton *was a Nurſery for Soldiers, which might, in time, teach their Countrymen their Trade*; *That inſtead of maintaining ſuch a Nurſery, 'twas the true Intereſt of* France, *to ſend the Regiment home, where they would, amidſt a Life of Luxury and Plenty, forget that which abundance of Rencounters had taught 'em upon the Continent*; *and, That tho' he did not deſign to reflect upon the Miniſters that preceded him, yet he could make it appear, that it was wrong Policy to keep, in their Service,* 6000 *Men, who were Natural-born Subjects of a Monarchy, that* France *ought always, and by all means, to endeavour to reduce, and take hold of every Occaſion, to leſſen the Figure it makes in* Europe.

Of King Charles's Wars with the Dutch.

King *Charles* II. enter'd into no more than Two Wars with a *Proteſtant* State; And tho' they were, indeed, the Work of *France*, back'd by

French Councils, and level'd, at the Bot-
m, againſt the Intereſt of the *Reform'd* Reli-
n too; nevertheleſs, were it not for thoſe
o Wars, it is more than probable, that the
ll and Bravery of the *Engliſh* Nation in the
airs of the Sea, had dwindled to almoſt
thing. But Thanks to God, and to the
tive Courage, which has flow'd, in all Ages,
our Seamens Veins; and we may ſay too,
anks to the evil Counſels, which induced
Engliſh and *Dutch* ſo often to make Tryal
their Courage, againſt each other, upon the
ean; For at this very time, their united
rce decides the Bleſſings of their Country,
the Fate of all *Europe*.

QUEEN *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*, who choſe ra- *Queen Chriſtina's Sentiments of Perſecution*
r to reſign her Crown, than forſake the
urch of *Rome*, to which ſhe had lately recon-
ed herſelf; and who eclips'd all the Glory of
r Reign, by embracing that Religion, and
iring to *Rome*, even as a private Perſon;
, nevertheleſs, look upon the late Perſecu-
n of *France*, with ſo great Abhorrence, that
one of her Letters, which made a great Noiſe
the World, ſhe declares, in very warm Ex-
eſſions, her Deteſtation thereof; and in the
ſtſcript to the ſame Letter, ſpeaks of Mon-
ur *St. Ruth*, one of the Inſtruments of that
uelty, as a Man *who carry'd it higher, than* *St. Ruth Chief of the Perſecutors.*
even the Heathen *Perſecutors*; *and who, far*
m inſpiring the Hereticks *with good Sentiments*
the true Church, had, by the horrid Method
had taken to perſuade them to embrace her
mmunion, imprinted in their Minds ſuch Pre-
dices againſt her, as it was impoſſible ever to
move.

EVERY

The French K. occaſion'd all King James's Diſgraces.

EVERY body ſaw, and is convinc'd, th the Influence which the Counſels of *Fra* had upon King *James* and his Brother, w the Cauſe of the one's Misfortunes, and t other's Diſgraces. Were it not for the f Promiſes and deluding Hopes given to t late King *James*; the Intrigues of the Em ſaries who were about his Perſon; and t Aſſurances ſo often repeated, that they wo ſupport him in the Enterprizes they engag in; But for theſe, I ſay, King *James* had maſn'd upon the Throne. The Example *Lewis* XIV. which he had before his Ey who had extirpated the Northern *Hereſy*, n withſtanding the fundamental and irrevoca Laws, whereby it was eſtabliſh'd, made too great Impreſſion upon a Prince, as devo to the Church of *Rome*, as the *French* K himſelf could be; But for all that, his imm derate Zeal for the Propagation of that Re gion, and the Abolition of *Proteſtantiſm* *England*, had been confin'd to bare Wiſh had not the Solicitations of his Ally, his Pr miſes in an Affair of that Difficulty, and t Aſſiſtance he made him hope for, obliged h to carry Things too far, contrary to the Se timent of the moſt moderate even among *Roman-Catholick* Subjects. The Counſels *France* render'd his Government inſupportab to the Nation, and induced the Prince of *range* to enter into a War equally juſt a neceſſary. And, which was ſtranger yet, t Court of *France* itſelf, out of a baſe and diſh nourable Policy with reſpect to King *Jame* enabled that Prince to make his Expeditio which afterwards wrought ſuch wonderful E fect

ts. For, had the *French* King ſent an Ar- into *Flanders*, inſtead of laying Siege to *ilipsburg*, he had prevented the terrible Blow ich threaten'd his Ally, and given him lon- time, to bring his Enterprize to Perfe- on. But in ſhort, King *James* had embark'd nſelf in a ruinous Affair, by eſpouſing the ereſts of a Court, who lov'd him no other- ſe than as they found their Advantage in't, d as they hoped thereby to reduce *Eng- d* under their Government.

THE Reaſon of State which induced the *nch* King to ſend his Troops upon the *ine*, might be two-fold. 1. He flatter'd mſelf, that the Prince of *Orange* would et with great Difficulties; and that if he her miſcarry'd or periſh'd in his Enter- ize, he ſhould be rid of the Prince for hom he had the greateſt Fear and Hatred. He might reaſonably conclude, that that xpedition would kindle a Civil-War in *Eng- nd*, which would do more Miſchief to both rties in the ſpace of Two or Three Years, an all the Wars abroad could do in Twen- or Thirty. Thus was King *James* deceiv'd his Ally, and the *French* King himſelf by s too-refined Politicks. And thus it ap- ears, from this very Inſtance, and infinite thers of the like Nature, that it has ever en the true Policy and chief Aim of *France*, weaken *England*, and render her uncapable f thwarting the Deſigns which that Crown ad form'd, for the Univerſal Monarchy.

He facilitated the Prince of Orange's *Landing in* England, *in hopes of kindling a Civil-War.*

'TWAS a noble Anſwer, which a *Roman* Ge- eral once made to a Traitor, who came and ender'd him the Keys of a Town that he had

The French *King's Force.*

had besieged. *No*, said he; *'Tis not yet bad with the* Romans, *as to need to take To by Treachery.* A modern Prince is of a qu different Temper. The *Ratio Ultima Reg* which *Henry* IV. caus'd to be engrav'd up his *Cannon*, was a Device which his *Gran* might, with more Reason and Justice, put on his *Money*; for that has done him grea Service, than all the rest of his Artillery.

Cardinal Richelieu's Ways to corrupt Men jeerily.

'Twould be hard to guess, how the missaries of *France* compass'd their Designs, corrupting Men to an Allay of betraying th Country; and especially, certain Persons, wh it infinitely concern'd, that they should not known to be *Pensioners*. Nevertheless, th was not a Court in *Europe* without these pers, who were as constantly paid their P sions, as they were their *Salaries* by the Pr ces and States whose Ministers they were. N is there a Man, who had not the Curios to learn how and why those Pensions we paid.

There was, under one of the late Reig in *England*, a great Favourite, who thoug of a pretty Expedient to receive a great Su of Money, and to engage himself in the I terest of *France*, to which he continued fait ful as long as he lived, at the Expence his Master's Honour, and the Good of h Country. He found means to pocket a ve round Sum, at a Game at Cards, at which was no Conjurer; But this was so much the e sier for him, in that the Gentleman who play against him, had a mind to lose, the Affa having been concerted before-hand, betwe those Two. To this private Agreemen mig

ght be attributed one of the greateſt Events
at *Europe* was then concern'd in, and which
s but a Conſequence of the other. *So true is* *A curious Reflexion.*
that the Affairs of the World depend upon a
all Matter; *(not to ſay, that this ſmall Matter*
oftentimes ridiculous) eſpecially, when managed
Perſons, who have no Regard either for God,
ir Country, their Prince, or ſolemn Oaths; *but*
wedded to that only, which tends to the Raiſing
their private Fortune, or to the Ruin of a Rival,
the Loſs of his Prince's Favour.

'TWOULD make an agreeable Part of the
ſtory of the Affairs of *England*, under ſome
the former Reigns, (tho' the Subject has
n fatal to the *Engliſh*, and their Neighbours)
tranſmit to Poſterity the Methods made
of by the Emiſſaries of *France*, to give, in
reign Courts, the King their Maſter's *Marks*
Eſteem; for that was the goodly Name they
n beſtow'd on the *Penſion*, which he paid to
h as, they ſaid, he eſteem'd, for their Learn-
, Birth, and even the Affection they had for
Prince they ſerv'd. This was their Cant-
Language. *Pauſanias*, Titular King of *Spar-*
had very cruel Treatment, in being con-
mn'd, by the *Ephori*, to die immur'd between
wo Walls, for not communicating to the Se-
te a Letter he had receiv'd from the King of
rſia; ſince ſo many Perſons liv'd in theſe later
mes in *England*, not only unpuniſh'd, but
en rewarded for a Crime infinitely greater.
true, in one Senſe, is that Maxim of *Spino-* *A Maxim of Spinoſa.*
That we call that Vertue *at one time, which,*
another, is look'd upon as Vice.

IT has not hitherto appear'd, that the new- *New Policy of the French not to fight.*
licy which the *French* have borrow'd of *Fabius*

bius the *Roman* Dictator, who retriev'd his A
fairs by Delay, has been of great Advantage
'em. For, as every Nation has its Geni
Temper, and Maxims of Government, to
ſtinguiſh it from others; ſo it has ever be
obſerv'd, that a ſudden Change of Old Maxi
and the Taking up of New, which ſeem'd b
for other People, have always prov'd fatal
the Innovators. Thus the famous Republi
of *Sparta* held it as a fundamental Maxim,
ver to incloſe her City with Walls. This
licy was judg'd altogether unreaſonable, co
dering the ſmall Extent of that Republick, a
the Enemies who ſurrounded her on all ſid
Nevertheleſs, as long as that Maxim was
ſerv'd, which was 500 Years, the *Lacede
nians* were proſperous at home, and victori
abroad. But when once they came to viol
that Conſtitution, and to imitate their Nei
bours the *Athenians*, who had built Walls ro
their City, they immediately began to wa
and, at long run, fell to Decay, being forced
ſubmit to the Yoke of *Alexander the Gr*
Thus alſo, in all paſt Ages, the Genius of
French Nation put them upon acting Offenſi
ly in War; nor could thoſe turbulent Peo
ever ſatisfy themſelves with the Defenſi
Time will diſcover, whether the new Maxi
which they have adopted, will be fatal or
vantageous to 'em.

There are Things, which to have undertaken, is ſufficient. In magnis voluiſſe ſatis.

SOME Things there are, which for a M
to have dared to undertake, has carry'd enou
of Glory in it. For there is nothing more tr
than the Remark of an ancient Hiſtorian, t
it was ſomewhat more glorious for the Youth of M
cedonia, *to have form'd the great and vaſt De*

ſubverting the Perſian *Empire in its higheſt pitch of Grandeur, than if they had actually put it Execution; ſince one,* ſays he, *depended on none but* Alexander; *whereas the other depended on the* Gods.

A HEATHEN Aſtronomer had an excellent Thought, in explaining one of the Motions of the Planets, and anſwering the Objection taken from the Nature of an Eclipſe. *If this Objection,* ſaid he, *had any Force, it were a Reflexion on the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of thoſe Spirits, who give Motion to the Celeſtial Globes; And, no doubt, thoſe infallible Beings can not only remove all the Difficulties that fall in their way, but have, beſides, ſo much Tenderneſs for Mortals, to beſtow their Favours, by halves, upon them.* If a Philoſopher's unfiniſh'd Reaſon could thus eſtabliſh, as a thing certain, the Syſtem of the Uniformity of Nature, and of her Exiſtence, and aſſert, that there was no Danger of the Celeſtial Bodies falling into Confuſion; and this, only in Conſequence of the Idea commonly receiv'd, *that they are mov'd and govern'd by Spirits wiſe in themſelves, and beneficial to Mankind*; Shall we offer to doubt, (we, who have clearer Ideas of the Deity who governs all the World) that he has not Power, nor Wiſdom, nor Goodneſs, ſufficient to complete a Deliverance ſo happily begun, and wherein ſo many Millions of Perſons, ſo many States, and Countries, are concern'd?

A Heathen Aſtronomer's Thought.

'TIS a certain Truth, that all the States and Empires that ever were in the World, had Bounds, as well for their Duration, as Extent. The *Perſians* could never extend their Conqueſts beyond the River *Araxes*; nor the *Ro-*

All States have their Bounds.

mans beyond the *Euphrates*. It ſeem'd as Nature had deſign'd thoſe Rivers, to give Bounds to the Two Univerſal Monarchies; and neither did the *Perſians* ever croſs the one nor the *Romans* the other, without receiving a conſiderable Blow. Witneſs the Fate of *Craſſus* on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*; and that of *Cyrus* beyond the *Araxes*. We cannot yet fix the Duration or Extent of the *French* Monarchy; but muſt be allow'd to ſay, that either 'tis now in its Wane, or elſe Providence has produced the only Revolution in *Europe*, capable of raiſing it to the Univerſal Monarchy.

The Conduct of France, for ſeveral Years paſt, has turn'd againſt her.

One muſt have a ſtrange Notion of Divine Providence, to perſuade himſelf, that the Advancement of a Prince of *Orange*, (the only Prince that *France* had moſt Reaſon to fear) to the Throne of *England*; the Abdication of King *James*, the only Prince who was entirely devoted to the Intereſts of *France*, and the moſt capable of ſupporting the Pretenſions ſhe had upon her Neighbours; the Alliance of ſo many Princes and States, to enter into a vigorous War againſt her; In a word, the favourable Circumſtances which fill us with Hopes, and conſpire together to unite the Confederates: that all theſe, I ſay, will come to nothing, but ſet off the Glory of *Lewis* XIV. with greater Luſtre. He that believes this, ought, at the ſame time, to lay down this Principle; That there is no other way for a Prince to gain Advantages, and win Battles, than by ſetting all the World on Fire, laying whole Towns and Countries in Aſhes, and reducing the ſtately'ſt Buildings to Heaps of Rubbiſh

by inciting the Common Enemy of *Chriſtendom* to fall foul on the *Chriſtians*, and teaching him to infringe Treaties, which he had not before learnt how to do; by offering all manner of Violence to the Head of his Religion, and ſeizing the Patrimony of a Biſhop, to whom, according to the Principles of his Religion, he owes an entire Obedience; by violating the moſt ſacred Treaties, the moſt binding Laws, and the moſt ſolemn Engagements he had enter'd into, as well with his Subjects, as his Neighbours; In a word, by trampling under Foot all that is accounted ſacred and venerable among Men, purely to ſatisfy his Vanity and Ambition. If Advantage and Victory be properly aſcribed to nothing but a continual Series of ſuch Actions; why then, truly, *Lewis the Great* has the beſt Title to 'em, of any other Prince in *Chriſtendom.*

The fatal Conſequences of an unlimited Ambition.

We read not, in Hiſtory, of any Prince, who aſſum'd, or permitted blaſphemous Titles to be given him, unleſs at the very time that Fortune began to abandon him, and an unexpected and ſudden Fatality was ready to ſurprize him. Need we, to prove this Truth, inſtance in *Cambyſes*, *Alexander*, *Antiochus the Illuſtrious*, the *Tetrarch* of *Judea*, frequently mention'd in Sacred Hiſtory, ſeveral *Roman* Emperors, as *Nero*, *Caligula*, *Heliogabalus*, and many others, of whom Hiſtory is full? The brave *Alexander* is the Prince above the reſt, whoſe ill Conduct and Deſtiny we cannot but lament! He was indeed a very vertuous Prince, till the fawning Prieſts of *Egypt* debauch'd his Good-Nature, and poſſeſs'd him with a vain

Opinion, that he was the Son of *Jupiter Hammon*. And yet, thoſe Peſts of weak Princes had, after all, much ado to taint his Vertue: for he did not cauſe himſelf to be adored as *Jupiter*'s Son, till his Return from the River *Indus*; after which he never did any thing of Good or Great, but, in the ſpace of a few Months, fell a Sacrifice to the Revenge of one of his * Domeſticks.

* *Either* Teſſalus *his Phyſician, or one of* Antipater's *Sons.*

Inteſtine Diviſions are capable of deſtroying a State.

We have ſeen the Return of the unhappy Age, wherein it was ſaid, *Let the Empire ſuffer, rather than my Enemy ſucceed.* This Manner of Speaking owes its Birth to the inteſtine Diviſions and Animoſities, which happen'd at *Rome*, between the Two famous Antagoniſts *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, and which, at laſt, occaſion'd the Civil War, that ended together with the Liberty of *Rome*. *Craſſus* having carry'd his Point in the Senate, and obtain'd the Management of the War againſt the *Parthians*, was a remarkable Example of the Vanity of humane Greatneſs; for he bought the New Honour that had been conferr'd on him, at the Expence of his Life, and the total Ruin of his Army.

A remarkable Example of Humane Vanity in Craſſus.

One would have thought, that the News of the famous Defeat of * *Carres* ought to have put an end to their Domeſtick Jars, reconciled Parties, and obliged them unanimouſly to take the Reſolution to revenge the Blood of their Countrymen, by wreaking their Indignation upon their Common Enemy. But ſo ſtrangely were the *Romans* poſſeſs'd with Prejudices one againſt the † other, that the Partiſans of *Pompey* did not ſtick to ſay

* *A Town of* Meſopotamia, *where* Craſſus *was defeated by the* Parthians.

† *As we too often find it in* England.

‖ *L*

Let the Parthians *triumph, provided* Craſſus *periſh.* ‖ Sint victores Parthi, ſi modo pereat Craſſus.

WHEN the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Mother marry'd the Emperor, 'twas agreed, that ſhe ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of *Spain*, in caſe there were no Heirs-Male of the *Spaniſh* Branch of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: And, by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, her Siſter, and *Lewis* XIV. her Conſort, renounced all Right and Pretenſion which he might have to the Succeſſion: But all the World knows, how light they have made of that Renunciation at *Verſailles*, tho' it was upon that expreſs Condition, that the Marriage was concluded between *Lewis* XIV. and the Infanta. And to ſhew, how little Streſs ought, thenceforward, to be laid upon that Prince's Oaths and Treaties, Men were ſubborn'd, in moſt Places of *France*, to preach up this new Doctrine; *viz.* That *a King of* France *could not, either by Oath, or any other manner, renounce any Kingdom or Principality, which might fall to him by Right of Succeſſion; and that all Renunciations of that kind, in what manner ſoever conceiv'd, were,* ipſo facto, *null and void.* *A new Maxim of the* French *King, with reſpect to the* Spaniſh *Succeſſion.*

THERE is no ſuch thing, as Compounding with Fate; and 'tis in vain to murmur at Events, which cannot poſſibly be prevented. *Philip* II. of *Spain*, was look'd upon as the only Prince, who was, as it were, divided between the greateſt Vertues and fouleſt Vices; and, of all the Circumſtances of his Life, the Manner in which he receiv'd the melancholy News of the Loſs of his *Invincible Armada* in 1588, was an evident Proof of his Greatneſs of Soul. The Courier arriv'd, while his Catholick Majeſty was playing at Cheſs, with the Prince *de Lerma*, *Fate is inevitable.*

ma, his Favourite; and none would venture to tell him the News. They whiſper'd it therefore, in the Prince *de Lerma*'s Ear, whoſe Countenance changing, the King perceiv'd it, and ask'd him, what Accident had happen'd? for he gueſs'd, by their Air, that it was ſomething of Diſagreeable. *Lerma* anſwer'd him in Two Words, that his *Armada* was loſt. The King then ask'd, how it was loſt? The Waves, reply'd *Lerma*, have ſwallow'd up moſt of the Ships in a violent Storm. *Is that all?* ſaid *Philip: I ſent my* Armada *againſt Queen* Elizabeth *of* England; *but not againſt the Seas and the Winds.* And ſo he follow'd his Game, with an entire Tranquillity of Mind.

The Doctrine of Preſages is the Work of Prieſtcraft.

'Twas the Folly (not to ſay worſe) of the Prieſts, which brought up the ridiculous Cuſtom of judging of Actions and Enterprizes by the Change of Weather, and ſeveral other common Viciſſitudes, which neceſſarily happen in the Celeſtial Bodies. If we have a mind to know, what fatal Conſequences this ridiculous Whimſy has produced in the moſt remarkable Revolutions, Hiſtory will amply inform us. We can inſtance in one Man alone, of old, who miſerably abandon'd himſelf to the Extravagancies of *Augury* and *Magick*; and obſerv'd every the moſt ordinary *Phænomenon*, to read there in his good or bad Fortune. I mean, *Julian the Apoſtate.* That Emperor, tho' a great Moraliſt, and valiant Captain, was, nevertheleſs, a pitiful Slave to that Part of the *Heathenish* Religion, which the *Chriſtians* have fooliſhly adopted; a Slave ſo ſordid, that the Shaking but of the Leaves of a Tree, or the leaſt Motion made in the Air, put that Apoſtate fro

he *Chriſtian* Religion into a Fitt of Trembling, r fear of the Conſequences, which, he be-ev'd, ſuch Things portended to befal him. ſtly, therefore, did he become a Prey to oſe kind of Extravagancies, which were a ntinual Torment to him; Nor did his Crime eſerve a more moderate Chaſtiſement, ſince he d diveſted himſelf of thoſe wiſer Impreſſions, hich he had ſuck'd in with his Milk. And us, indeed, the frequent Alterations made on the leaſt Change that happen'd in thoſe uguries, occaſion'd his Defeat and Fall, in e famous Expedition of *Perſia*.

I could never reconcile myſelf to the pious raud of drawing Inferences of Happineſs or o, from the *Phænomena* of Nature; were it ly, becauſe to that curſed and ridiculous Su-rſtition, *Athens*, the moſt excellent and learn-Republick that ever was in the World, the mous Reſidence of the *Muſes*, and the City ſtly dedicated to *Minerva*, owes the Founda-n of her Ruin! But is it not unaccountable, at the wiſe *Athenians* themſelves ſhould be e Victims of the Viſions and Knavery of their norant Prieſts?

The *Athenian* General having conducted in-*Sicily*, the moſt numerous Army that ever nt out of *Greece*, there happen'd an Eclipſe the Sun in the very Moment that the Army s going to attack the Enemy. Why, preſent-, the Prieſts muſt be conſulted, forſooth, to ow what it preſaged; and they perſuade the or General, that it portended no Good to e Army, if the ſame advanced but a Foot far-er; and that it was the Pleaſure of the Gods, at they ſhould not ſtir out of their Camp till

the next day. The General, without any more ado, obeys thoſe pretended Secretaries of Heaven; and tarrying thus in his Camp all day, gave Time to the Enemy, to ſurround him, the next day, in his Tents, and cut him and his whole Army in pieces; inſomuch that no more that Forty Men were left, to carry the News of their Defeat to *Athens*. *The Counſel of thoſe Prieſts*, ſays *Thucydides*, *was ſo much the more fatal, in that, had the* Athenians *continued their March, when they were forbidden to advance, inſtead of being beaten themſelves, they had beaten their Enemies.* And from this very Blow, the Republick of *Athens* began to dwindle.

We make War now-a-days, in a manner very different from the Ancients.

Abundance of Machines are now made uſe of, to ſtrike Men with a ſudden and certain Death, which the *Ancients* knew nothing of; And, as if the Querks of the Prieſts and the Calamities they had before occaſion'd in the World, were not ſufficient, the curſed Monks of *Germany*, at laſt, out-did all the reſt, by inventing *Gun-Powder*.

Naturaliſts obſerve, that where-ever Nature produces venomous Beaſts or Plants, there the Divine Goodneſs has alſo diſcover'd a Counter-Poiſon. Bring me a Man from t'other end of the World, who has never ſeen theſe kind of Engines; tell him the Additions that have been made to 'em, and to what Perfection they are now brought, to deſtroy Mankind; and my Stranger will be ſurpriz'd that a Man is left alive in thoſe Places, where ſuch ready Meſſengers of Death are ſo eaſily, and ſo frequently made uſe of. He will look upon it as a thing beyond Conception, how this

is Part of the World has eſcaped being De-
rt, for above 200 Years, that this diaboli-
l Invention was firſt put in Practice. And
t, we ſee that it happens quite otherwiſe,
ving, from time to time, found out other
ventions, to ſhelter ourſelves from the for-
er, and render them uſeleſs. Nay, we may
y, in one Senſe, that thro' the admirable
irection of Providence, Mankind has rather
in'd than loſt by the Invention of Gun-
wder; for ſince the ſame has been made
e of in War, Battles are not ſo bloody as
fore.

A Reflexion upon the Character of Lewis XIV.

It was ſaid of a certain Perſon, that all
en, with him, were either Gods or Devils.
am very much afraid, the ſame cannot be
d of moſt of the Hiſtorians of this Age.
veral Perſons, for Inſtance, are employ'd to
rite the *Life* of a Prince; And that invin-
ble Monarch himſelf is obliged, with other
en, to ſubmit his Fame to the Deciſion of
iſtory: But he has this Advantage, (if it be
e, to be *Great* at any rate) to appear there-
, either as a *Hero*, or as the *Worſt* of Men;
r the Character in queſtion will admit of no
edium.

A remarkable Action of Katharine de Medicis.

Katharine de Medicis is a ſingular
xample, to convince us, into what dreadful
recipices thoſe Perſons are capable of ruſhing,
ho, being infected with the incurable Itch
Government, ſacrifice their Honour and
onſcience to their Ambition. Every body
nows, what Civil-Wars and Commotions ſhe
xcited and fomented, during the unfortunate
eigns of her Sons *Charles* IX. and *Henry* III.
a word, that Queen was a *Lewis* XIV. to
the

the *Proteſtants*; or, to ſpeak more properly, *Lewis* XIV. is to them now, what ſhe was formerly; but with this Difference, that what ſhe in vain undertook by a Maſſacre, has ſince been accompliſh'd by *Lewis* XIV. who, for that end, made uſe of a Perſecution, more gentle and moderate in Appearance, but, at the Bottom, more cruel and fatal in its Conſequences.

In the Beginning of the Civil-Wars, when the Prince of *Condé* ſeem'd to have the Advantage, and *Katharine* was ready to ſuccomb and be depriv'd of her Regency, ſhe lock'd herſelf into her Cloſet for Two days, and would be ſeen by none of her Domeſticks. Few days after, ſhe ſent for Monſieur *de Mêmes*, an Officer of the long Robe, who was ſtill true to her Intereſts, and deliver'd to him a *Steel-Box*, lock'd, the Key whereof ſhe likewiſe gave him, and ſaid, that being doubtful of her Fate, and of the Succeſs of the Civil-Wars, ſhe had thought fit to lock up, in that Box, a Thing of great Value, which ſhe committed to his Care, making him take an Oath, not to open it, without an expreſs Order ſign'd with her own Hand. The Queen being dead, without demanding the Box again, and Monſieur *de Mêmes* having likewiſe paid Nature's Debt, the Box was a long while in the Houſe, without being open'd. At laſt, however, the Preſident's Son had the Curioſity, thinking it contain'd ſome hidden Treaſure. But inſtead of that, the Spectators were ſeiz'd with Horrour, when they ſaw nothing therein, but a Copper-Plate, in the Shape, and about the Bigneſs, of the Bucklers which the

Ancient

ncient *Romans* conſecrated to their Gods; hereon was engrav'd *Katharine de Médicis* up- her Knees, in the Poſture of a Perſon at ayers, making an Offering to the Devil, ſit- g on a Throne, in one of the moſt hideous rms, under which he is wont to be repre- nted; accompany'd by *Charles* IX. then reign- g, the Duke of *Anjou*, ſince *Henry* III. and e Duke *d'Alençon*, her Three Sons; with s Device, in *French*, *Soit pourveu que je Regne*, *ovided I Reign.* The Plate remains, to this ry day, in the Hands of the Head of the Fa- ly of *Mêmes*, whereof Monſieur *d'Avaux*, mbaſſador in *Holland*, was a Branch, who en promis'd an *Engliſh* Lord to procure him exact Copy of the Piece.

A Conſideration upon the Armies now employ'd.

The *Militia*, or *Train-Bands*, are the only rmy that may be kept ſtanding in *England*, cording to the Laws of the Land. Theſe n neither hurt the Prince, nor People; but e fit only for the Defenſive, and to prevent ſurrections and Invaſions. The King being War with the *Scots* and *French*, had another rt of Army, compos'd of his Vaſſals, or made Treaty with the Nobility and Gentry, ho obliged themſelves to raiſe Men upon eir Eſtates, and oftentimes commanded 'em emſelves. But Time has introduced another Way of levying Soldiers: All that are fit ſerve, are now liſted and paid for that nd, and commanded by ſuch Officers, as the ing is pleas'd to give 'em. Theſe Troops con- ſt chiefly of ſorry Fellows, who having no anner of Regard for their Country's Intereſt, either have they for its Preſervation and Safe- y: They take upon 'em the Profeſſion of War,

as

as a Trade, whereby they endeavour to live well, and as long, as they can. Such Armies as theſe, how neceſſary ſoever they may be in Time of War, have been fatal, ſometimes in War, always in Peace, to the People's Liberty. Nay, they have been ſo to the Princes themſelves, and their Families. It was by theſe Armies, that *France* loſt her Liberty under the Reign of *Lewis* XI. and by their Favour, the Power of the Kings, and Slavery and Poverty advanced *pari gradu*. 'Twas by their Means alſo, that *Ceſar* deſtroy'd the Liberties of the People of *Rome*, who maintain'd the Government of the *Ceſars*, and hinder'd the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Republick, which, but for them, might have been effected upon the Death of one of their Tyrants. Laſtly, it was the Armies, that aſſaſſinated, in Proceſs of Time, ſo many Emperors, good and bad, and tranſmitted the Imperial Diadem to new Families as often as they had a brave General, ambitious enough to ſet himſelf up for Emperor, and bold enough to put himſelf at their Head, and favour ſo raſh an Enterprize.

Example of the French *at* Madagaſcar.

A People diſarm'd is a People enſlav'd; for he who bears your Arms, is Maſter of your Life. The *French* of *Madagaſcar* afford us a remarkable Inſtance of this. They had ſeiz'd upon that Iſland, and reduced great Part of it under their Obedience. One of the Princes, a Native of the Iſland, made Head againſt the *French*, who march'd to attack him with an Army compos'd of Men of their own Nation, and ſome Natives of the Country, whom they kept under their Government. The *French* being diſpos'd to eaſe themſelves, made the poor *Na-*

gro-

ſet carry their Arms, during the March. The *Negroes*, forced to obey, were ſo ſenſible of their Opportunity and Advantage, that they fell upon their new Maſters, cut moſt of their Throats, join'd their Forces with thoſe of the *Negro*-Prince, who was then in the Field, and drove the *French*, for ever, out of their Iſland.

THE Experience of all Ages has made appear, and ſeveral eminent Authors have obſerv'd, that a People plung'd in Vice are leſs vigorous in the Defence of their Liberty, than a People animated by a Principle of Vertue and Honour. The *Romans* loſt not their Liberty, nor after they had loſt their Vertue, which did not happen, till after the Deſtruction of *Carthage*. The * *Roman* Empire being rid of her Rival, and having no more *Carthage* to fear, proceeded from Vertue to Vice, not gingerly, but by degrees, but all at once, by a rapid Fall. Some brave Generals ſtill kept up Military Diſcipline for ſome time, and even extended the Limits of the Empire; but the Nobility having render'd themſelves powerful, by the Violation of the || *Agrarian* Laws, and the People giving themſelves up to all manner of Lewdneſs, fell, by degrees, into the Deſpotick Government, which ſoon degenerated into Tyranny, thus retaining nothing of *Roman*, but the Name. And this was the Cauſe of the Revolution that happen'd under *Julius Ceſar*.

* Remota Imperii Æmula, & ſublato Carthaginis metu; non gradu, ſed præcipitato curſu, a virtute deſcitum eſt, ad vitia tranſcurſum.

|| *Thoſe Laws regulated, among the* Romans, *the Diviſion of the Lands taken from the Enemy.*

THOSE who ſpeak of the Invaſion of *England* by the *Normans*, mention alſo the Lewdneſs and Debauchery of the *Saxons*; looking upon it, not only as a juſt Judgment of God; but alſo, with reſpect to what it produced, as the great Cauſe of the Advantages which

The Lewdneſs of the Saxons *in* England *occaſion'd their Ruin.*

William

William the Conqueror gain'd over King *Ha*
Lewdneſs was arriv'd to that Pitch in all Pa
of the Nation, that the beſt Army they co
muſter up for the King, was compos'd of R
lows, who, after a long March, ſpent
Night before the Battle, in Exceſs and D
bauch, which their Enemies paſs'd away
Reſt and Devotion. So true is it, even po
tickly ſpeaking, that Vice and Corruption
the Ruin of a People.

Monſ. de Gourville's *Saying to King* Charles II.

A FOREIGNER told one of the late Kin
of *England*, that *if a King of* England *had*
Affections of his People, he was the greateſt Pri
in Europe; *but otherwiſe, very inconſidera*
The Truth of this Remark has evidently a
pear'd ſince the Revolution; for the Body
the Nation has been entirely devoted to
whatever was deſired; their Purſe has alw
been open to the Neceſſities of the Governme
and Money voluntarily given, never extor
by abſolute Orders. All *Europe* knows, (a
this ought to confound the Partiſans a
Preachers up of Tyranny, and convince the
if any thing could) that the only Method, wh
ought to be practis'd by a Prince, who wo
have his Subjects Eſtates at his Command, is,
let them enjoy 'em. It was ſaid of Queen
lizabeth, that ſhe had rather there ſhould
Money in her Subjects Purſes, than in her ow
having found, by frequent Experience, duri
the Courſe of her Reign, which was none
the ſhorteſt, that *ſhe never wanted Money,*
long as her People had it; and that they alw
had it ready, when ſhe wanted it.

Queen Elizabeth's *Saying upon this Subject.*

WHEN a Prince, not content with the Pow
which the Laws have given him, goes about
al

er the Form of Government, and make nſelf abſolute, his Subjects are obliged to poſe his Deſigns. This was the Pretence *Brutus*, and his Accomplices, againſt *Julius ſar*, who had invaded the Liberties of the publick. This it was, which induced the *ſtilians* to oppoſe their King *Alonſo* III. and diveſt him of the Crown. And as the ſeſt Men have no leſs Zeal and Affection their Religion, than for their Liberties d Privileges, they have a fair Pretence to e up Arms, when their Prince attempts ſubvert it, and ſet up a new one in its om, by Fraud and Violence. *Witterick*, ng of the *Goths*, who went about to extir- e the *Catholick* Religion, and eſtabliſh the rnicious Hereſy of the *Arians*, was maſſacred his Subjects; and the Emperor *Charles* V. d like to have been ruin'd by the *Pro- ant* Princes, for endeavouring to pull down e *Proteſtant* Religion in *Germany*.

The Pretences for divers Conſpiracies.

THE Cruelty of Princes has alſo ſerv'd as Pretext for ſeveral famous Conſpiracies. he *Romans* were ſo incens'd againſt * *Tar- in*, for the many Murders he had perpe- ated, that they expell'd him the Throne, d conceiv'd ſuch an Averſion for all that re the Name of a King, that they for ever niſh'd the Royalty from amongſt them. *riſtiern* II. King of *Denmark*, ſurnamed *the uel*, having put ſeveral *Swediſh* Lords to eath, was expell'd by the *Swedes*, who ele- ed another King, of their own Nation, in his om.

* Tarquin the Proud, who was expell'd the Throne, in the Year 245, from the Building of the City.

THE Avarice of ſome Princes has alſo been e Occaſion of Diſorders. People cannot endure,

dure, without the utmoſt Impatience, to ſ themſelves oppreſs'd by violent, exorbita and inſupportable Taxes, impos'd upon ' againſt their Conſent, and without any N ceſſity. The *Cappadocians* took up Arms agai *Achelaus* their King, for endeavouring to e a Tribute from them. The ſame Attempt the Ruin of *Dom Garcias* King of *Galicia.* Hiſtories furniſh us with Two or Three Ex ‖ *The Fourth King of France.* ples of this kind: The *French* depos'd ‖ C *deric* for abuſing his Wives; and another C *deric*, the 21ſt King, and laſt of the Famil the *Merouingians*, was deprived of his Digni by the States aſſembled at *Soiſſons*, becauſe he uncapable of Governing; and *Pepin the Sh* Father of *Charlemain*, was elected in his roo

LASTLY, when a Prince has poſſeſs'd h ſelf of a Kingdom by Force of Arms, and ma tains his Authority by Oppreſſion and Cr ty, the People may lawfully conſpire aga his Perſon. Nor can the *Portugueze* be blam for having ſhaken off the *Spaniſh* Yoke, and up the Duke of *Braganza.*

A Reflexion upon the Bravery of the French. *Of the Battle of* Lepanto. † *A Town of* Greece, *where was fought that famous Battle between the* Chriſtians *and* Turks, *in the Year* 1571.

A CELEBRATED *Roman* Hiſtorian has ſerv'd, that *at the firſt Onſet, the* French *more than Men in Battle, and afterwards leſs Women.* Gallos primo impetu majores eſſe ris, ſed poſtremo fœminis debiliores.

HAD the *Chriſtians* taken Advantage of Conſternation of the *Turks*, after the Ba of † *Lepanto*, they had, in all Probability, re ken moſt of the Countries which the Infid had gain'd upon them, and made themſel Maſters of *Conſtantinople* itſelf, whoſe In bitants were ſo frightned, and in ſuch C fuſion, that they abandon'd the City,

ed into *Aſia*: But the *Chriſtian* Generals then eglecting ſo fair an Opportunity, the *Turks* ook Courage again; and that glorious Victo- became, in a manner, fruitleſs, through the areleſneſs of the Victors.

Lewis XIV's *Antipathy and Averſion for* King William.

It has been the Obſervation of all Ages, that riendſhip is generally the Effect of a Like- eſs of Manners; *Similitudo morum parit amici- am.* And, by the Rule of Contraries, thoſe hoſe Genius and Inclination have not the leaſt eſemblance, cannot eaſily be Friends. This bſervation ſuffices, to ſhew us the Grounds d Motives of the Averſion which *Lewis* XIV. ways had for King *William*. Never were wo Princes of a more different Temper. ing *William* was a Free, Generous, Valiant, ood, Pious, and Juſt Prince, whoſe only Am- tion was, to render his Subjects happy, ſe- re the Repoſe of his Neighbours, and eſta- iſh the Peace of all the *Chriſtian* World in neral. But *Lewis* XIV. on the contrary, is iſſembling, Malicious, Cowardly, Cruel; A- eiſtical, notwithſtanding his apparent Bigot- y; without Equity, without Faith; whoſe mbition is, to make Slaves of his Subjects, vour his Neighbours, and put all *Chriſten- m* in a general Combuſtion.

A Parallel between them.

Particular Motives of his Hatred.

But beſides theſe general Motives, there ere alſo particular ones, which may poſſibly recounted. *Lewis* XIV. having the Univer- l Monarchy in View, had already, jointly and Concert with King *Charles* II. poſſeſs'd him- lf of the *United Provinces*, and obtain'd ſuch rodigious Conqueſts over the *Dutch*, that his roops were within three Leagues of *Leyden*, d *Amſterdam* was upon the Point of preſent-

ing the *French* King with the Keys of the City when the Prince of *Orange*, who was then in veſted in the Dignity of his Anceſtors, put a ſudden Stop to the Torrent of thoſe Conqueſts which had like to have over-run the reſt of the *United Provinces*, heal'd the Inteſtine Divi ſions that embroil'd the State, reviv'd the Courage of the Armies of the Republick, en gaged divers Princes in her Defence, and, by that Means, obliged the *French* King to lay aſide his ambitious Projects, and to abandon all the Places he had taken, except *Graeve* and *Maeſtricht*. 'Twas then, that *Lewis* XIV. be gan to entertain a mortal Hatred againſt the young Prince, to whom he could before ſo ſtoop make his Court, as to offer him the Sovereig ty of the *United Provinces*, with all the Advan tages he could hope for. But the Prince of *Orange* having generouſly refuſed the Offers which were made him; the *French* King tha us'd all Methods to ſend him out of the World but without Succeſs. The General Peace be ing concluded at *Nimeguen*, to the great Satis faction of *France*, 'twas expected, that *Lewis* XIV had done with his barbarous Deſigns againſt the Prince of *Orange*'s Perſon, tho' not with h Hatred, which he often ſhew'd in his Diſcour notwithſtanding he was ſometimes forced t ſpeak well of him. But the Prince being com to deliver *England* from Popery and Tyranny and, conſequently, to break the *French* King Meaſures, by diſſolving the Alliance, where all his Hope of the Conqueſt of *Chriſtend* was built; then it was, that *Lewis* vented Rage and Malice beyond all Expreſſion, a ſwore that Prince's Deſtruction. 'Tis needle

o relate all the barbarous Attempts that have een made againſt his Life; Suffice it, only to ention three of them.

When the Prince of *Orange* ſet out for *eland*, the *French* King, foreſeeing that the uin of his Party in that Kingdom was in-itable, took the Reſolution to get rid of m at any rate, and, for that end, ſent one ones, a notorious Villain, with a Commiſ-on to aſſaſſinate him, and, by that Means, di-ert the Courſe of the Allies Succeſſes: And is Helliſh Charge had been executed, if GOD d not prevented the Blow, and thereby ſecu-d the Safety and Happineſs of all *Europe*.

The Conſpiracy, wherein the Lord *Preſton* as concern'd, having been diſcover'd, his Ma-ſty was no ſooner arriv'd in *Holland*, but mediately another Plot was hatch'd againſt s Life. The *French* King was ſo ſwell'd ith Rage, at the great Reſpect ſhew'd to King *illiam*, by ſo many Princes, who thought emſelves equal to Crown'd Heads, and who d left their own Territories to come to the *ague*, and concert the Operations of the mpagne, which was then upon the Point being open'd; that he reſolv'd to inter-pt the Univerſal Joy of that Auguſt As-mbly, by Two Terrible Blows: One was, take *Mons*; the other, to cauſe King *Wil-m* to be murder'd. For this purpoſe, the nevalier de Grandval, and one du Mont, both ficers in the Service of *France*, were ſent *Loo*, to kill the King, while their Maſter arch'd towards *Mons*, with a powerful Ar-. *Mons* was taken; and no Wonder, ſince e Bargain had been made long before-hand.

But the Villains, who had undertaken to ki
the King, whether it was, that they had no
an Opportunity, or becauſe they were ſeiz
with Horrour, at the Thoughts of the He
liſh Fact they were about to perpetrate, r
turn'd to *Paris*, without doing any thing
And thus did GOD, once more, preſerve Ki
William, againſt the Blow deſign'd him.

ONE would have thought, the *French* Ki
had, by this time, been ſufficiently diſco
raged from purſuing, any longer, a Deſign,
which he had ſo ill ſucceeded; and from a
future Attempts upon a Life ſo dear and pr
cious: But a freſh Plot breaking out, co
vinced People how egregiouſly they were m
ſtaken; for, the ſame Wretches were ag
charged with the ſame Commiſſion to m
der the King. Nor can we enough adm
the Infinite Providence of GOD, who took
Safety and Preſervation of that great Pri
into his immediate Protection; for, when t
French King ſet out from *Paris*, he was he
to ſay, that *his Deſign was ſo well concer*
that none but GOD *alone could hinder its E*
cution; confidently relying on the Aſſaſſi
tion, which was happily diſcover'd by one
the Conſpirators.

The Papiſts were very well uſed by K. William.

WHEN King *William* accepted the Cro
of *Scotland*, and took the Coronation-Oa
whereby the Deputies of that Kingdom
quir'd his Majeſty to ſwear, that he wo
expel the *Roman-Catholicks*; he made this
nerous Exception: *I don't mean, by theſe Wo*
to reduce myſelf to the Neceſſity of becomi
Perſecutor; and thereupon, deſired the De

es of *Scotland* to be Witneſſes, that he had ade that Declaration to them.

THE only Motive which induced the *French* ing to aſſiſt the late King *James* in his imerical Undertaking to recover his King- oms by Conqueſt, was his own Intereſt and reſervation. It cannot be imagin'd, that a ing, who, thro' the whole Courſe of his Acti- ns, has given the World Occaſion to believe, e empty Sound of Glory was the Drift of em all; and who has acted with the blackeſt gratitude towards one Part of his Subjects, ho had render'd him ſuch conſiderable Ser- ice, that he was forced to own, in his Speech the Parliament of *Paris*, in the Year 1664, at *he could not be thankful enough for what* e Proteſtants *had done for him*: Such a Prince, ay, cannot be thought to have eſpous'd King *ames*'s Quarrel, out of a Principle either of onour or Friendſhip. *The* French *K. aſſiſted K.* James *for his own Intereſt.*

WHEN we think of the Cruelties which at Prince has exercis'd, the Oppreſſions he s been guilty of, and the Devaſtations he s made, as well at home, as among his eighbours; we cannot find Fault with Na- ure, for admoniſhing the World, when he as born, that the *Grand* Enemy of Mankind as come among them; ſince having Teeth t the Time of his Birth, and wanting a freſh urſe almoſt every day, by reaſon none was o be found, who could long bear the inſa- iable Greedineſs of a Child, that, inſtead of ucking Milk, drew Blood from his Nurſes ipples; this Prodigy was a ſure Preſage of e Rapine and Cruelty, which he ſhould, one ay, render himſelf guilty of. And accor- *His being born with Teeth taken for an ill Omen.*

dingly, Men of the firſt Rank look'd upon thes extraordinary Circumſtances of his Birth, as bad Omen for the World. *See the Mareſcha* de Baſſompiere's * *Letter to the Biſhop of* Gre noble, *pag.* 134. *of his* Memoirs, *printed* Cologn.

*Il a deja des dents, & il n'y a point de femmes, qui lui donne à tetter, qu'avec beaucoup de peine; car il tette avec tant d'avidité, qu'il tire le ſang avec le lait.

It ſeems as if Providence permits Sovereig States and Families to riſe to a certain De gree of Greatneſs, for no other end, but t warn 'em of an approaching Eclipſe. The fall, in a Moment, from a great Fortune, t a great Diſgrace. It is a fatal Property o all earthly Things, that they grow leſs, a ſoon as they have done growing bigge They are like the Waters, which bein ſpouted up into the Air by artificial Foun tains, no ſooner reach the Point to whic they are carry'd by the Force that raiſes 'em but they immediately fall down again. Thi is evidently prov'd by an almoſt univerſal la duction of all the States of the World; which if they are not exterminated, all at once, af ter a long Courſe of proſperous Deeds, are at leaſt, hamper'd in ſome dire Revolution out of which they can ſcarce ever extricat themſelves.

The great Proſperity of States is not laſting.

Exemplify'd in the Decay of the Egyptian *Monarchy after* Joſeph.

The Kingdom of *Egypt* flouriſh'd, ſo lon as the Bondage of the *Iſraelites* endured. *Jo ſeph*'s great Prudence had drawn thither all th Riches of the neighbouring Countries. Bu how ſoon was all its Glory loſt? Thoſe wh reign'd at that time, left not their Crow to their Children. Foreigners expell'd th reigning Family; and having the *Iſraelites* fo an Addition to their Conqueſts, enſlav'd tha People, and carry'd their Glory to a highe Pitch

itch, than ever thoſe they had dipoſſeſs'd, d done. 'Tis ſaid, they ſhew'd their Power, the Raiſing of the *Pyramids*; and we read Sacred Hiſtory, that they employ'd the *Iſ-ulites* in building Cities which were very fa-ous for a long while: A glorious Mark of reatneſs for thoſe Times, whoſe Princes ought it more ſuitable to their Dignity, to ild Towns, than thoſe of the preſent Age em it honourable, to batter 'em about the oples Ears, with Bombs. This Proſperity, owever, was of no long Duration. The agues with which that Nation was afflicted, d the Deſtruction of the Army, which was er-whelm'd in the *Red-Sea*, may paſs, at leaſt, r an ordinary Decay.

SESOSTRIS, after this, conquer'd all *Aſia*; up his Trophies in Places, in a manner, un-own; and carry'd his Arms and Conqueſts far as the *Black-Sea*. But his Proſperity as follow'd by a ſudden Revolution. *In that of* Seſoſtris, *the* Shiſhac *of Holy Writ.*

THE Kingdom of *Pontus* was ſcarce known fore *Mithridates*; but after that famous King d held out againſt the Power of the *Romans*, r the ſpace of 40 Years, Fortune gave him e Slip, all of a ſudden. His Son *Pharnaces* uld neither preſerve the Friendſhip, nor bear e Hatred of the *Romans*, nor hinder his Coun-y from changing Maſters. *Of* Mithridates.

EVERY one knows the Power of *Carthage*, hich was upon the Point of foiling *Rome* her-lf, and wreſting from the *Romans* the Honour Governing all the World. The *Carthagi-ans* had render'd themſelves Maſters of the eſt Part of *Sicily*, and of the other Iſlands in e *Mediterranean*; and none diſputed with *Of* Carthage.

them the Sovereignty of the Seas. But an u happy War loſt 'em whatever they had abroa and ſcarce did the *Romans* ſuffer 'em to ke ſome Scraps of Ground in *Spain*. Neverth leſs, that powerful City recover'd her Fa and, under *Hannibal*'s Conduct, carry'd her Su ceſſes farther than ever ſhe had done befo She poſſeſs'd herſelf of great Part of *Spain*; r duced the *Gauls* under her Obedience; clu the *Pyrenees*, the *Alps*, the *Apennine*; and co quer'd all *Italy*, whereof ſhe kept the Poſſeſſi for ſome Years. But the higher ſhe carry'd h Glory and Proſperity, the more her Decr after thoſe Succeſſes, haſten'd her Ruin. S was deſpoil'd of all that ſhe had conquer'd which was beſtow'd, by the *Romans*, as a Gr tification to thoſe who had ſerv'd 'em in th War; And, few Years after, that unfortuna City was entirely deſtroy'd by thoſe inhuma Politicians, who were jealous even of her Rui and her Rubbiſh. The Fall of *Carthage* dr along with it that of *Syphax*, who had aggra diz'd his Empire, more than all his Predeceſſo at the Expence of his Neighbours. But t *Romans* rais'd *Maſſiniſſa* upon his Ruins, a obliged the Son of that outed King, to co tent himſelf with a ſmall Portion of *Mau tania*.

Of the Roman *Empire.*

THE *Roman* Empire was a State, ſometim Republican, and ſometimes Monarchical; b in both theſe Reſpects, gave Proofs of what before alledg'd. The Defeat of *Antiochus* *Scipio*, attended with the Deſtruction of *C thage*, rais'd *Rome* to the higheſt Degree Power; But from that very time, ſuch Civ Wars were kindled in her own Bowels, as co

ot be ended, but by the Suppreſſion of the Re-
ublick's Liberties, and the Reſtauration of
onarchy, whoſe Yoke they had ſhaken off
me Ages before. A great and lamentable
all this! for a popular State. For, nothing
orſe can befal a People accuſtom'd to be their
wn Maſters, than to ſee themſelves ſo far re-
uced, as to depend on the Will of another.
or was her Proſperity more conſtant than
efore, even when ſhe had changed Maſters.
uring the Time of her Empire, and after
e Re-eſtabliſhment of Monarchy, four Pe-
ods are principally to be taken Notice of.
he firſt is the Reign of *Auguſtus*. The ſe-
nd, thoſe of *Trajan* and the *Antonines*. The
ird, the Empire of *Conſtantine*. And the
urth, that of *Theodoſius*, for ſeveral Reaſons,
rnamed, by the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorians, *the*
reat. To ſo many remarkable Periods of Pro-
erity, we can oppoſe as many cruel Revolu-
ons. From the Reign of *Auguſtus* to that of
rajan, there was a Succeſſion of Princes, born
be a Plague to the whole Race of Mankind;
cepting only *Veſpaſian* and his Son *Titus*,
hoſe Reigns were too ſhort, to efface from
eoples Remembrance the Miſeries of the for-
er. From the Death of *Verus* to the Reign
Conſtantine, the Empire was diſtracted by
ntinual Viciſſitudes. Nothing was heard of,
t the Incurſions of *Barbarians*, the Mutinies
Armies, the Revolt of Provinces, the Mur-
ers of Emperors, and the Maſſacres of *Chri-*
ans; inſomuch that the Face of the Empire
as never more melancholy, than during that
ng Interval; and not to confeſs, that it had
en loſt of its former Splendor, is to ſhew,

that

that we do not underſtand, wherein the Pr ſperity of States conſiſts. *Conſtantine* did, i deed, a little revive its Luſtre; or, at lea it is ſo ſaid: For never was Hiſtory more u certain than his, every Syllable thereof bei written, either by his Enemies, or by his Fla terers. But he did, at leaſt, get into his Han again, the Sovereign Authority, which h Predeceſſors had been obliged to divide; a the Credit he did to the *Chriſtian* Religio made it believ'd, that the Empire had ne been in a happier State. Nevertheleſs, h Children fell from this Glory. *Conſtantius* h held the Empire torn in pieces, about Ma ters of Religion, and had the Misfortu to ſee *Chriſtianity* infected with the Spirit Perſecution: For the *Arians* gave the fi Example thereof to the others; and taug the *Orthodox* to preach the Goſpel, in a ma ner near akin to that, wherein the *Heath* labour'd to maintain their Errours. *Julia* who ſucceeded him, was the laſt of *Conſta tine*'s Family; and ſo far degenerated, th the *Chriſtians* were apprehenſive, he'd ha extirpated their Religion, had he had tim Soon after, reign'd *Theodoſius*, under who Government the Empire had again ſome ſa Glimmering of Proſperity; but after who the Weſtern Part of the Monarchy was pr ſently loſt.

Of the three Kingdoms, England, Spain, and France.

We could produce infinite other Exampl of this kind, from the Hiſtory of the *Tu* and *Saracens*, the *Vandals*, *Goths*, and *Lombard* but chooſe rather to ſpeak of Three Stat better known to us; namely, *England*, *Spai* and *France*.

Th

THE Princes of *England* were ſo powerful, *of* England.
wards the latter End of the 14th Century,
d about the Beginning of the 15th, that the
rmidable Kingdom of *France* was become an
dition to their Dominions. After the Death
Charles VI. they had very like to have en-
ely outed the Lawful Heir. They had re-
ced him almoſt to his laſt Town; and De-
ir had puſh'd him even to quit all, and
for Refuge to the inacceſſible Mountains,
re it not for the Reſolution of ſome of
Servants. But Fortune ſoon turn'd about.
e *Engliſh* loſt all their Conqueſts and Pre-
ſions, and kept no more than *Calais*, of all
t they had poſſeſs'd on the Continent. The
ion of the Three Kingdoms, the Riches
the preſent Government, the Abundance
Men; and more than all theſe, a certain
ſpoſition of the Affairs of *Europe*, ſeem now
furniſh us with a fair Opportunity, of re-
ving thoſe old Loſſes; would our divided
tion happily unite herſelf in the preſent
dure, to act unanimouſly, and lay hold of
portunity, when ſhe ſo kindly offers.

THE Proſperity of the Kings of *Spain* was *of* Spain.
extraordinary, till after the Diſcovery and
nqueſt of the *Indies*; the Re-union or U-
pation of the ſeveral States, which the
od Catholicks *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* added
their Dominions; and *Charles* V's being
l'd to the Succeſſion of his Anceſtors. Be-
e this, we may be allow'd to ſay, the Go-
rnment was not form'd; that Country be-
ſtill divided among ſeveral Maſters. But
the *Spaniards*, except *Portugal*, were after-
rds united under one Prince, arriv'd at the
higheſt

higheſt Pitch of Proſperity. Nevertheleſs, th
Prince, before he died, beheld a great Chan
of Fortune; and, like one who judg'd wiſe
concerning Futurity, doubted not, but the n
merous Misfortunes, which had already hu
bled him, would accompliſh his Ruin, ſho
he not prevent it by his Prudence. To ſto
therefore, the Flight of the fugitive Proſ
rity, which had given him the Slip, he co
ſented to loſe one half of his Power, w
which he inveſted *Ferdinand*; and, to ſave
other, made it over to *Philip* II. who ma
ged it but ſo ſo. In a word, ſo fatal was
Decay of the *Spaniſh* Grandeur, that neit
the Troubles of *England*, nor the League
France, nor the Succeſſes of the Duke of P
ma, were able to retard it. 'Tis true,
Conqueſt of *Portugal* ſeem'd to make ame
for the Loſs of *Holland*; but what was ſo
begun under his Reign, receiv'd its finiſh
Stroke in thoſe of his Succeſſors, who w
grown ſo peaceable, that they refrain'd C
plaints, even when injured; and ſo furni
an Example of an Empire viſibly waning

Of the Empire.

On the ſide of *Germany*, *Ferdinand* II.
arriv'd at ſuch a Pitch of Glory, that
Step higher had mounted him up to Ab
lute Power, and ſubjected to his Will all
Princes of the Empire. His Armies, co
poſ'd of 130000 Men, the fineſt Troops
the World, and commanded by the ableſt G
nerals; the languid Government of *France*;
ly amazed; *Holland* fatigued; *England* rega
leſs of Affairs abroad; Theſe ſeem'd to p
miſe him good Succeſs in all his Undertaki
Nevertheleſs, the King of *Sweden*, whom
ne

ver ſuſpected, puſh'd him within an Ace of Ruin, and made all *Europe* afraid, leſt that bid Conqueror ſhould carry his Arms farther n they would have him. From that time, e Houſe of *Auſtria* has not appear'd with y great Luſtre; nor do we know, how long e proſperous Tide, which brought her *Hun-*y, will flow; ſince the ſame may prove her er Ruin.

We muſt now ſpeak one Word in relation *of France:* *France*; who, as well as other States, has nd by Experience, that Decay is a near nſequent of Advancement. Scarce did the ſt Race of her Kings appear in Poſſeſſion of flouriſhing State, but ſhe fell from her Glory. *vis* left behind him a great Inheritance, hich was divided into four Parts; and theſe ing afterwards re-united, a new Partition vided the State; after which it fell under the overnment of ſluggiſh Kings. *Charlemain* was, yond Diſpute, the Glory of the *French*, and the ſecond Race of their Kings; but after m, their Reputation faded, thro' the too eaſy emper of *Lewis the* Meek. Their Glory ſuf-'d a yet greater Eclipſe under the perplex'd d diſtracted Reign of *Charles the Bald*; and tirely vaniſh'd, thro' the Imbecillity of *arles the Fat.* After him reign'd none but morous and irreſolute Kings, who gave ano-er Family an Opportunity to ſnatch the rown from their Head. Under this third ace alſo, the Government fell, ſeveral times, om the higheſt Proſperity, into Broils and roubles; principally, when it ſeem'd trium-hant in the Reign of *Henry* II. But the Peace, hich was made after the *journée des Eperons*,

or

or *Day of Spurs*, caſt a great Blot upon its R putation; And, after the Death of that Prin the Raging of the Perſecution and the Lea drove *France* to the worſt Extremities. Po rity will ſee, whether the Good-Fortune, wh *Lewis* XIV. has ſeemingly enjoy'd for ſo Years paſt, has not been a Preſage of his Fa

Of the Vices of Proſperity; and 1. of Pride.

THERE be certain Vices, which are, as o may ſay, naturally link'd with Proſperity, a generally prove the Cauſe, that a Fall com ſo cloſe upon the Heels of temporal Grande When Princes and People are wiſe enough t enjoy their Happineſs, without falling into t Vices that attend it, we may eaſily belie their Proſperity will not prove fatal to the But this is very rare; and, as it is a great ma Years ago, ſince the Heroes liv'd, it is now difficult Matter to meet with Perſons, whom true Greatneſs ſecures againſt the Surprize Vices; eſpecially, when Proſperity gives the a deceitful Air, againſt which a Heart ſoften by being accuſtom'd to be happy, can make b a very weak Defence. Theſe Vices, therefo are remarkable either in the Princes the ſelves, or in their Subjects: But the Vice wh is moſt common to Sovereigns in Proſperity, *Pride*. 'Tis but a little way, from the elev ted Pitch to which Fortune advances Conqu rors, to thoſe Proud Sentiments, which a call'd *Greatneſs of Soul*; Nor do I know, wh ther it be poſſible, for a Man, before whom other Men tremble, not to think he is ſom what more than a Man, when he conſiders hi ſelf in all his Glory and Splendour: But know very well, that Pride is not far from Fall. This might be prov'd from infinite Exa ple

s; but ſuffice it, to remark, that proud nces were ſcarce ever known to go off of Stage with Honour and Satisfaction. At ſt, 'tis certain, that GOD makes it, if one y ſo ſpeak, his Buſineſs to humble the Proud; l that the Prophets never fail'd to mention Pride of thoſe, whoſe Ruin they foretold. y, there is one thing more, which may be ught worthy Conſideration; namely, that h as aſſum'd the moſt magnificent Titles, re generally the moſt unhappy; I mean, ſe who did ſo in their Life-time, whoſe End, the moſt part, was by no means ſuitable to Proſperity of their Lives.

Of the Title of Great.

THERE are not many Titles, which go be- nd that of *Great*; but we ſhall find as many nces, to whom that Title preſaged diſmal iſſitudes, as there were, who worthily car- d that Encomium to their Graves. I know , whether *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Subjects gave the Title of *Great*, during his Life; but at ſt, Hiſtorians give it him; and certainly, if gard be had to what he did, he deſerves it. verthleſs, every body knows, he fell into greateſt Calamity that ever Man was ſen- le of; ſince, with the Empire, he likewiſe his Reaſon, and ſpent ſome Years in the ilderneſs, without any other Company, or od, than that of the Beaſts. The Name of *eat* was become ſo proper for *Cyrus*, that the lgar thought they did but half name him, if, mentioning his Name, they did not accom- ny it with that Epithet. Mean while, we not ignorant, what a ſad Cataſtrophe ter- nated, at laſt, his Conqueſts and his Life, on the Battle he loſt with the *Scythians*. Nor does

does *Alexander the Great* contradict this R
mark: To die young, poiſon'd by his Frien
in the midſt of his Glory, without hav
had time to enjoy his Conqueſts, or to r
from his Labours; was a Death, which ot
Princes have very little Occaſion to envy h
Neither was the Fate of *Antiochus the Gr*
one of his Succeſſors, much more deſirabl
ſince the Excellency of that Title could n
prevent the Loſs of great Part of his E
pire, nor skreen him from a miſerable Dea
in an Inſurrection of his own Subjects. *Po*
the Great was no happier than the reſt: N
withſtanding that deceitful Elogy, he was
ſhamefully defeated, afterwards barbaro
murder'd. We know what a Man *Herod*
Great was: He had done *great* Things, in
Senſe we put upon that Expreſſion, when
ſignifies nothing elſe, but to acquire or exer
a great Authority, at any rate, or by any me
whatſoever. So alſo was his Death extra
dinary; for, was there but half the Hor
in't, which Hiſtorians relate, we might
aſſert, that it was a very miſerable one.
phonſo the Great, King of *Leon*, ſaw his o
Sons in Rebellion againſt him, and was
duced to command the Armies, in Qua
of his Son's Lieutenant, to whom he had
ſign'd his Crown. *Sancho the Great*, who
ſum'd the Title of *Emperor of the Spains*,
cauſe he had re-united the States of *Arr*
and *Caſtile*, to the Kingdom of *Navarre*,
Sobrarbre, which he held by Inheritance,
with an End not more advantageous; for
are inform'd, that he was baſely murder'd
Journey of Devotion, which he had undert

the Habit of a Pilgrim. The Third King *Arragon*, whoſe Name was *Pedro*, was likeiſe ſurnam'd *the Great*; But the Preſage that Title was accompliſh'd in him, as in e others; for he loſt the Name of *Great*, gether with his Life, in a Fight, wherein e *French* had the Advantage, upon Occaſion an Ambuſcade which he had unhappily laid r 'em: A Death, fitter for a Carabineer, an for a *great* King. *Caſimir the Great*, King *Poland*, had the Misfortune, not to leave e Crown to his Children, but to ſee exnct, in himſelf, the Iſſue-Male of *Pyaſt*, a King honour'd by the *Poles*, that they ſtill make e of his Name, to ſignify an accompliſh'd rince, and ſuch as one would wiſh, for the roſperity of a Country. The ſame thing ppen'd to *John the Great*, and Second of at Name, King of *Portugal*; whoſe Son *Alonſo*, Preſumptive Heir to the Crown, coming a tragical End, he fell into an incurable Mencholy, which occaſion'd a Dropſy, and ſo ill'd him; not, however, without the Help a little Poiſon, if we may believe Hiſtoans. *Muley Albohacen*, the Nineteenth King *Grenada*, bore the Name of *Great*, as unrtunately as the reſt: He was outed by his wn Subjects; and, after the ſhort Reigns of wo Succeſſors, whom the Seditious ſet up his room, his Kingdom was conquer'd by *rdinand*, who extinguiſh'd the Empire of the *Moors* in *Spain*. *Philip the Great*, King of *Spain*, nd Firſt of the Name, had the Misfortune marry *Joanna the Fooliſh*, and to die ſo young, at 'tis a Queſtion, whether he would have en able to keep the Honour of that Title,

in caſe he had liv'd longer: Nay, he ſuffer
Death with ſo little Courage, that he w
continually railing at a Comet, which the V
gar accus'd of preſaging it. The Fate
Henry the Great, aſſaſſinated as we know, ſhe
that that Title, which was given to him, l
not its fatal Property in him. And, to co
clude with a parallel Example, *Guſtavus*
Great came to an End agreeable to the P
ſage of this *Elogium*; ſince, tho' he died
the Bed of Honour, he was, however, ki
at a Time, when he had moſt Occaſion to li
for the Advancement of his Glory; Not
mention, that it was always ſuſpected, he f
by the Hand of a Traitor. After all, it will
a difficult Matter, to find an equal Number
Princes, ſurnam'd *Great*, to whom the Title
not prove a bad Omen: When, on the co
trary, one might, perhaps, with a little P
ſing, enlarge the Catalogue of thoſe, w
found it fatal that ever they bore that Na
But if *Conſtantine the Great*, *Valentinian the Gr*
Theodoſius the Great, *Charles the Great*, or *Cha*
main, be oppos'd to theſe; I anſwer, that
ſhall take Occaſion to ſpeak of them in a
ther Place. Mean time, two Obſervatio
may be made upon their Name and Fortu
The firſt is, that thoſe Princes may not h
been named *Great*, in the Senſe wherein t
Title has any thing of *Proud*; but in t
wherein it ſeems to be taken only for
Eldeſt or Firſt of the Name. This is w
Nicephorus means by the Names of *Great*
Little, when he gives them to the *Conſtanti*
the *Valentinians*, and the *Theodoſius's*. T
alſo the Title of *Great* is ſometimes give

Pop

Popes, who, if they did any thing of Uſe to their Grandeur, did nothing, however, that comes up to the Actions of ſeveral others: as, for Inſtance, *Leo* and *Gregory*, the Firſt of thoſe Names. The former did nothing excellent, except the Procuring the Convocation of the Council of *Calcedon*, under the Emperor's Authority; And if it was of any Advantage to him, that he preſided therein, by his Legates, (as it is pretended) and that his Letter was approv'd in that Aſſembly; he ſuſtain'd ſome Loſs alſo, in that, notwithſtanding the Proteſtation of his Legates, the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was, in all Reſpects, made his Equal. The other ſhew'd a very great Reſpect and Submiſſion to the Emperors, and pronounc'd a ſevere Sentence againſt ſuch as aſſum'd the Title of *Oecumenical Biſhops*: Sentiments, for which Men would now-a days be burnt at *Rome*, whoſe Biſhops, ſince *Gregory*'s Time, have given us to underſtand, that they are in no wiſe obliged to the Temporal Princes. Nevertheleſs, thoſe two Perſons were call'd *Great*; tho' for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they were the firſt Popes that bore the Names of *Leo* and *Gregory*. As for *Charlemain*, it appears, that in his time alſo, the Name of *Great* was of no ſuch Importance, and that it was given him, not ſo much for a Reward of his Merit, which was extraordinary, as out of a Cuſtom of giving it to every body, for ſeveral Reaſons. My ſecond Obſervation is, that if you will take the Title of *Great* in a *Proud* Senſe, it will not appear, that the Mind of thoſe illuſtrious Princes flatly contradicts what I have obſerv'd, as to the Preſage

of that Name; ſince it does not ſeem to be glorious Death for a Man, of whom *Chriſtend* has made ſuch a Noiſe, to die an *Arian*, beſieg by a Clergy, who render'd him unconſtan ſuſpect, and a Perſecutor; and who, havi begun his Cruelties with the Death of his S *Criſpus*, and his Nephew *Licinius*, and con nu'd 'em with that of his own Wife, and ſev ral illuſtrious Perſons, ended 'em with the Pe ſecution of the *Orthodox*, who had made h an Emperor, and with the Baniſhment of S *Athanaſius*. *Valentinian* was ſuffocated by Apoplexy; a Death which none would ſcar make Choice of, if it were in his Power chooſe the Manner of his leaving this Worl *Theodoſius* died of a languiſhing Dropſy, a had this Cauſe of Affliction at his Death, t he left the Empire, which had coſt him much, in the Hands of his Sons, who lo by their Weakneſs, what he had acquir'd h his Courage. *Charlemain*, before he died, h loſt his Eldeſt Son *Charles*, and *Pepin* King *Italy*; that is to ſay, all that was good of Family; and his Glory was ſomewhat ſully by the Defeat of *Pepin*'s Troops, who impr dently engaged in the Marſhes of the litt Iſlands, whereon *Venice* has ſince been bui Inſomuch that the malign Influence of the Ti of *Great*, had, upon him and the others, alm the ſame Effect, as the mortal Influences of t Stars, according to Aſtrologers, when they a forced to yield to a benign Aſpect. They not all the Miſchief they might, but yet th do a little; tho' they are hinder'd from te ing, at leaſt they ſcratch; if they are not p mitted to kill, they bruiſe, at leaſt, and t

me

ent. Thus the Name of *Great* did not pre-
ge extraordinary and prodigious Calamities
thoſe Princes; but yet it did them ſome
ejudice, and diſtinguiſh'd their End, by ſome-
ing of Melancholy, by no means anſwerable
the Glory and Proſperity of their Lives. In
word, it would be of great Service to a Prince,
ſtay till he is dead, before we give him this
itle: For, it is the very ſame thing with
randeur, as it is with Happineſs; And as we
e liable to unſay what we have ſaid, when we
ve been too haſty in giving any one the
ame of *Happy*, becauſe a Man may poſſibly
ll, in the ſpace of a few Moments, from the
eateſt Height of Happineſs, to the moſt ex-
eme Miſery; ſo we may alſo be too forward
giving the Title of *Great*, becauſe ſome Ac-
dent may fling a Man from the Degree of
lory, which induced him to take it up.

It has always been unfortunate.

WHATEVER it be, 'tis certain, the Title of
reat is unfortunate, inaſmuch as it carries
o much of *Pride* in it. There is nothing *Great*,
roperly ſpeaking, but GOD. It is one of the
pithets that we ought to reſerve for him a-
ne; and I don't wonder, that the Almighty
kes a Pleaſure in humbling, by ſome diſmal
roſſes, ſuch as aſſume that Title; becauſe, to
ink himſelf worthy of it, one muſt take him-
f to be more than *Man*, and almoſt equal
GOD.

The ſecond Vice of Proſperity, Perfidiouſneſs.

BUT *Pride* is not the only Vice which Pro-
erity inſpires: For, it often happens, that
oſe to whom Fortune is too favourable, con-
ive ſuch a Diſdain for others, that they think
em not worthy the keeping any Meaſures of
ſtice and Good Faith withal. When a Man can

do all things, he is eaſily perſuaded he ma
do Ill, and reduces that Notion into Practice
without any Fear or Dread, by reaſon the Lea
that his Proſperity makes him hope for, is, th
Right of Sinning with Impunity. Hence it is
that Princes are ſo often found to flinch fro
their Word; becauſe they cannot endure, th
Courſe of their Succeſſes ſhould be obſtruc
ed by the Authority of the Faith given to the
Enemies. How d'ye think, they ſhould ſuff
a ſingle Word to ſtop the Rapidity of Vict
ries, and the Improvement of Conqueſts?
were to carry the Credit of Round-Dealin
too far, in the Acceptation of an ambitio
Prince, who is Fortune's Favourite, not to da
to ſubdue a Neighbour, becauſe he lives i
Quiet, under the Shadow of a Treaty of Peac
or of the Word of a King. A Man may kee
his Faith, whenever he pleaſes; but canno
when he will, find Conjunctures proper for f
vouring the Deſigns of a Conqueror. He mu
therefore, refer Good-Faith to a better O
portunity, and, tho' it be at the Expence
his Word and Credit, improve the Momen
that favour his great Deſigns. This is the Re
ſon, why Publick Faith does not always pro
an Obſtacle to the Progreſſes of a Prince, who
Career is unreſiſted, and whoſe Proſperity pe
ſuades him, that the Perſons concern'd will n
have it in their Power to make him keep h
Promiſe. Thus, therefore, is *Perfidiouſneſs* nea
ly ally'd to Proſperity; and if this is demo
ſtrable from Reaſon, it is much more ſo fro
Experience. To produce all the Exampl
which might be fetch'd from Hiſtory, wou
be to copy all the Hiſtories extant; eſpeciall
ſin

ce *Europe* has embraced the Goſpel of the *ſuites*, who make uſe of the Faith of Pro-ſes, only as a Snare to ſurprize thoſe who ly thereon. There are ſo many Inſtances the Want of Sincerity in Princes, when rtune ſmiled upon them, and there remain'd other Obſtacle to be remov'd, for the Exe-tion of their Deſigns, than that of their ords and Oaths, that it would be altogether neceſſary to repeat any of them. Nor is leſs certain, that *Perfidiouſneſs* is fatal to oſe who delight therein. 'Tis a kind of Ruſt Worm, which, by degrees, eats away the ops that ſupport the Grandeur Men abuſe. here is not an Age, but furniſhes Proofs of is; And not to mention *Lewis* of *Hungary*, o loſt his Life and his Crown, by viola-g an Oath, and whoſe *Perfidiouſneſs* gave e *Turks* an Opportunity of puſhing their nqueſts ſo far in *Europe*; we ſhall only ob-rve, by the by, that *Charles* V. ruin'd his affairs, and made the firſt Flaw towards the ll of his Family, by breaking his Word. A all Equivocation ſerv'd him to play with s Faith, when he detain'd the Landgrave of *eſſe* Priſoner, tho' he had promis'd him his berty. And this *Perfidiouſneſs* convinc'd all e Princes, who follow'd him upon the Secu-y of his Promiſes, that he would do the me by them, as ſoon as he had an Opportu-ty. Wherefore, they follow'd his Example, d dealt by him with a Sincerity like his n. It is a natural Effect of Treachery, that teaches others to deceive thoſe Perſons by hom they themſelves are deceiv'd; and when ce Plain-Dealing, which is rightly term'd

A curious Obſervation upon Charles V. for his Perfidiouſneſs.

What Plain-Dealing is.

the ſtricteſt Bond of Humane Affairs, is violate when, I ſay, this common Bond is broke it is impoſſible they ſhould not fall to Dec GOD, who is Faithfulneſs itſelf, and the D fender of the Truth, ſuffers the Perfidious be caught in their own Snares; ſince they g nerally light of Friends and Servants, w pay them in their own Coin, by imitati their Fraud.

Oppreſſion a 3d Vice of Proſperity.

A THIRD Vice of Proſperity is the *Oppr ſion* of the Weak. A Prince, who ſees n thing equal to his own Power, fancies, eve thing beneath him was made for no other en but to ſet off his Glory; and that his Subjec in particular, have neither Eſtates, nor Bloo nor Quiet, but what ought to be ſacrificed to h Ambition. Thus it generally happens, that t how much the happier a Prince is, by ſo muc the more miſerable are his Subjects. But f all things to go well in a State, it would b neceſſary, that the Proſperity were divided and that, of the Happineſs it enjoys, the Prin ſhould have no more than his Share, and th Subject the reſt. But this never happens and when the Courſe of Proſperity inclines t the Prince's ſide, all that belong'd to the Sub ject is ſunk, and falls into the Hands onl of the Few who are at the Helm. 'Tis eve a Neceſſity this: To purſue the Torrent o great Succeſſes, a Prince *muſt* ruin his Sub jects; He *muſt* drain their Purſes, to rai Money for the preſſing Occaſions of State unpeople his Country, to furniſh Soldiers fo his Armies; diſpleaſe the Nobility, by de manding great Services from 'em without Re compenſe; and oppreſs the whole Nation b

Exaction

actions, to maintain the Charges of his Enprizes. And hence it is, that oftentimes Territories of the Conqueror fare no better for all their Maſter's Victories, than thoſe the Conquered. But this Condition of Subs keeps 'em in a continual Longing after a Change of Affairs: And juſt as, when y live very much at their Eaſe, they have ertain Gayety, which renders 'em very ſuſtible of Commotions and Seditions; ſo, en they are too hard preſs'd on by Miſe- they long for Alterations, and are diſpos'd Acts of Deſpair, which ſometimes haſten m. 'Tis an almoſt-general Errour, for Men Trouble to fancy, that Worſe cannot hap; and, for that Reaſon, they wiſh, Affairs uld take a Turn, becauſe they ſuppoſe the ange will be for their Advantage. They pect, therefore, and even deſire, ſuch a ange, as they can find their Account in; if they do not, all at once, endeavour to ct it, 'tis becauſe Fear ties their Hands. it has been well obſerv'd, that *Fear and rour are weak Bonds of the Love and Fide- of a People*; and that *as ſoon as their Minds freed from thoſe Sentiments, they begin to hate, proportion as their Fear goes off.* Nay, we y go a little farther yet, and affirm, that y hate, as ſoon as they fear. Men can- love that which cauſes 'em to live in perual Inquietudes; and tho' Fear may prel over Hatred, yet it does not hinder 'em m expecting, at leaſt, and deſiring an Optunity to appear. Mean time, they com- themſelves with ſecret Imprecations; and entimes, when the Dread of Puniſhment draws

draws Bleſſings and Eulogies from the Mou the Heart belies them by contrary Prayers a Curſes. A Prince, blinded by his Proſperi values not theſe a Ruſh, and, it may be, admi his Power, which confines all the Madneſs his Malecontent People to ſecret Murmu But yet this is not ſo deſpiſable a Matter as imagines. It is ſaid of one of the Kings *Caſtile*, that he confeſs'd, *he was more afr of the Imprecations of his Subjects, than of his E mies Armies*; and, in my Opinion, with go Reaſon. 'Tis a dreadful thing, to govern M who not daring to revenge themſelves o Prince who oppreſſes them, place their Co fort in wiſhing, Night and Day, that Hea would do it for them.

The Terrour it ſtrikes into Foreigners, the fourth Vice of Proſperity.

HAVING ſaid thus much concerning t Oppreſſion of Subjects, we ſhall, in the ne place, take Occaſion to ſpeak of the Terro of Foreigners. To make its Enemies *afraid* attack a State, *ſeems*, indeed, a powerful Me to preſerve it; But this is a great Miſtake. W are taught by Nature, to guard ourſelves gainſt any thing that alarms us. 'Twas Fe that invented Ramparts and Fortreſſes, a all the numerous kinds of Defenſive Weapo 'Tis Fear that forms Confederacies, and teach ſuch as cannot hope for Succour in themſelv to ſeek it in United Forces. Thus thoſe, wh at firſt, were too weak to defend themſelv become ſtrong enough to attack, and ſometim to make themſelves formidable. It is even natural Property of Fear, to be reciprocal. W are ſtruck with Terrour ourſelves, at the ſa time that we ſtrike it into others. *He wh many Men fear*, ſaid a Poet, in the Heat of t Civi

il-Wars of *Rome*, *muſt*, *of Neceſſity*, *be afraid any Men himſelf.* Whereupon, another has, e that, ſaid, by way of Commentary, that *natural for him that is Great for being fear'd hers, to have his Reaſons alſo to be afraid*; that *a Man can't help trembling himſelf, at ſame time that he frightens others*; eſpecially, n, notwithſtanding his Proſperity, he finds as nevertheleſs Occaſion for a ſtrong Par- it is impoſſible for him not to be uneaſy. Number of Malecontents is the continual ect of his Thoughts. He is computing, how y Neighbours are angry at their being b'd; how many are jealous, and look upon ng Series of Succeſſes with Envy; how ma- Powers are concern'd to hinder the Pro- s of an Empire, which gives them juſt Cauſe Umbrage: And then it happens, according he Obſervation of a certain Hiſtorian, con- ning *Otho* and his Competitor *Vitellius*, who *both afraid of one another.* It was *an Age of icions and Jealouſies, wherein he that was a- d, was mutually fear'd.* Now, it muſt be con- d, that by theſe mutual Fears, a Prince, ever fluſh'd with his Succeſſes, receives e ſecret Intimations of his impending Fall, hat he ſees the Fore-runner of ſuch Cauſes, are capable of effecting it; and tho' ſome er Buſineſs, or ſecret Intrigues, may, per- s, hinder the Execution of Foreign Deſigns a time; yet thoſe Obſtacles will, ſooner or r, be remov'd, and free Scope given to the ſentments of People made deſperate by Op- ſſion. When, therefore, both Parties are aid of each other, and the Inſide is as ſu- ct as the Out, by reaſon the Subjects are

as

as Malecontent as Foreigners, it cannot be
ny'd, but this uneaſy Situation portends ſo
thing, and that thoſe Fears are like the C
Fitt which precedes the Hot one in an A
One is a Fore-runner, that aſſures us of an
proaching Change of Health; the other
certain Preſage, that the End of a great
ſperity is not, perhaps, very far off. This
ſage would be of leſs Force, *would Princes*
Care to be belov'd by their Subjects, as much
they are fear'd by their Enemies; But when
gard has been had to neither of theſe, and
jects and Enemies have the ſame Reaſons
wiſh for a Change of Affairs, 'tis morally
poſſible, they ſhould long ſubſiſt, without
Alteration. A Prince that fears his own
jects, is not in a Condition to attack Fore
ers; and when Foreigners attack him, i
very hard, that he muſt firſt guard him
againſt his own Subjects. Hence it is, that
liticians aſſign the Fall of Empires to t
Two Cauſes; namely, Inteſtine Troubles,
Foreign Attacks; Things alike dreadful, w
a general Terrour is ſtricken both at H
and Abroad; which always happens, w
Proſperity attends Princes that are ambiti
and enterprizing. *The Misfortune of loſing*
Empire, ſaid a famous Author of the Hiſt
of *Venice*, *very often comes cloſe upon the Heel*
an inordinate Deſire to extend and aggrandize
For, 'tis the Fate of Governments, to thrive in
midſt of Trouble and Uneaſineſs, and to be
ſhaken when enlarged by Conqueſts; *And,*
once ſhaken, they ſoon fall, if not by Inteſtine
viſions, at leaſt, by the Attacks of Foreigners.

We might here conclude our Remarks upon the Proſperity of States, and the Vices attending it: But there is one Conſideration more, which deſerves to be taken Notice of; that is, that the People have alſo their peculiar Vices occaſion'd by Proſperity. I don't mean *Luxury* and *Debauch*, which are only common in flouriſhing States. Thoſe Vices were predominant even in former days, when the Proſperity of States was made to conſiſt in the Eaſe and Wealth of their Inhabitants; and they are ſtill ſo, in all the Countries where People are Subjects, without being Slaves, and are govern'd by Laws, which the Courtiers dare not publickly violate. But now, that the Proſperity of a State is made to conſiſt in a capricious Government, which Men adorn with the ſpecious Title of *Abſolute Authority*, on purpoſe to make it go down with Sovereigns; or, in plain *Engliſh*, in an immenſe Proſperity of the Court, grounded upon the extreme Miſery of the People; it is no longer the ſame thing. A great Doctor has taken Abundance of Pains to prove, that true Happineſs conſiſts in Two Things; namely, *In doing what one ſhould, and, In doing what one would*; and he ſtrenuouſly maintains, that in the firſt place, a good Diſpoſition of the Will ought to be form'd. He looks upon it as very abſurd, to go about to ſeparate thoſe Two things, or to ſubvert their Order; and no less ridiculous, for a Man to think of doing what he would, without taking Care to will what he ſhould. But if ſuch was the Morality of the Age he liv'd in, ſuch is not that in which we live. For ones Will to be ſquared

Of the Peoples Vices attending Proſperity; and of Flattery.

by

by that of a good Man, is now counted
greateſt Misfortune that can befal him;
to have it in his Power to ranſack and ru
very thing without Contradiction, is eſte
the completeſt Felicity. To be obliged
guard the People's Quiet, and obſerve
Laws in which their Safety conſiſts, is
great a Conſtraint for Souls faſhion'd by
Jeſuites. They are only for doing what
pleaſe; for Pulling down, Oppreſſing, Ruin
without the leaſt Oppoſition. In the P
where theſe Maxims are obſerv'd, as
thing is done at the Expence of the Pe
it cannot be imagin'd, they have wherew
left them, to abandon themſelves to Lu
and Debauch. 'Tis true, ſuch as are com
hended in what Men call the *Court*, as
have a Part in its Sweets and Pleaſures
they never fail of falling into its Corrup
and forming themſelves according to the h
ful Examples they there meet with. Cr
which all Nations abhor, are there term'd
lantries. To give ones ſelf up to Vice
Glory, bears there the ſpecious Title of
roiſm. To go on in a Courſe of Exceſs
Honour and *Probity*, becauſe Perſons eng
in the ſame Debauches, muſt not, by bein
bandon'd, be expos'd to Publick Deteſtat
To ſpend Millions of Money in Preſent
Coquets, paſſes, at *Court*, for *Magnificence.*
invent freſh Amuſements for Minds rend
ſoft and flabby by too much Eaſe and L
ry, is reckon'd a Piece of great *Policy.* Th
the Maxims and Secrets of *Heroiſm* are le
in the Trifles ſung in Operas, or recited in
medies. All this, I confeſs, is a Series o
femi

inate Proſperity, which makes deep Impreſ-
s upon Mens Minds: And yet it may be
n for a Preſage of Decay; at leaſt, in the
nion of ſuch, as know that Heaven con-
s itſelf in the Affairs of this World; and
it never fails to puniſh Mens Vices, when
are grown up to their higheſt Pitch. But
heſe Vices of the Court do, now-adays, give
h to, or preſuppoſe, the Subjects Miſery,
deſcend not ſo low as the Vulgar. As
e are Crimes which 'tis impoſſible to com-
without a Kind of Vertue, becauſe to con-
e and put them in Practice, a Man muſt be
ned with what is term'd *Greatneſs of Soul*,
good Courage; So, there are Vices alſo,
ch cannot be incurr'd, without the Aſſi-
ce of Riches, and which ought not, conſe-
ntly, to be expected among People that are
erable. A Man has ſomething elſe to do,
n to be vicious, when he ſcarce knows how
get Bread to eat. But there is one general
e, which Proſperity makes common to Court
Country; and that is *Flattery:* This is an
verſal Vice, which reigns in all Times, in
Places, and in all ſorts of Perſons; but is ne-
ſo common, nor ſo extravagant, as when
tate appears in the Diſpoſition I have been
reſenting; that is, when one Part proſpers
the other's Expence. 'Tis an unaccounta-
Quality of Mens Minds, that they are ne-
fuller of Flattery, than when prepoſſeſs'd
h Miſery and Terrour: But yet, their Qua-
it is; and 'tis certain, that the *Tiberius's*
Caligula's, and their Equals, were more in-
iouſly flatter'd than the *Auguſtus's* and the
jans. Men contented themſelves to flatter
theſe

theſe groſly; to commend that in 'em, w
did not deſerve it; to attribute Vertue
'em, which they never had; and to rumm
in their Favour, all the Common-Place
the Demonſtrative Kind; as is now gene
done in Epiſtles Dedicatory. But they in
ted, for the others, new Turns, and Fet
and curious and uncommon Expreſſions, w
are never made uſe of to honour Perſons
are not fear'd. Thus, too groſs a Flat
is an almoſt-certain Sign of the Peoples A
ſion for the Government; and if we ma
diligent Search into Hiſtory, we ſhall find,
never were Men flatter'd in a more ful
Manner, than thoſe who afterwards met
a diſmal and fatal End. Read over atten
ly all the Monuments of Antiquity; and
will find, that the very Princes, againſt w
the People did, in the end, commit the
furious Extravagancies, were thoſe, whoſe
ces they had before (if one may ſo ſay)
fy'd; thoſe, to whom moſt Statues and T
ples were erected; and whoſe abominable L
were, in a manner, canoniz'd, by the
and ſervile Flattery of their Subjects. It
not, therefore, be imagin'd, that the Tri
phal Arches, Inſcriptions, Lamps always b
ing, Guards, Societies; nor, ſhould we
even the Incenſe and Litanies, the Haran
and Compliments; no, nor all the Monum
erected to the Glory of *immortal* Men, u
Pretence of tranſmitting to Poſterity the W
ders of *Humane* Providence and Omnipote
we cannot, I ſay, ſuppoſe, that theſe are
ſafe Guarantees of the long Duration of
Proſperity. 'Tis plain enough, that GOD

Pleaſure in ſeeing Men made his Equals; d that he affects to humble thoſe whom Flat- y has rais'd above themſelves. Neither does appear, that thoſe Emperors were moſt ppy, who were adored during their Lives; r thoſe whoſe *Painters* encircled their Heads h Rays of Light, without waiting for their ath; nor thoſe who were us'd to the Title *Your Divinity*; nor thoſe *whoſe Praiſes were ally reſounded in the Senate, by the Mouth of ſicians and Comedians.* This deteſtable Flat- y, far from honouring a Prince, proves his in; and, inſtead of recommending him to ſterity, ſeems to beſpeak him an Adverſe te even in his own Life-time. A Sun, whoſe ys no Miſt intercepts at his Riſing, nor du- g the Beſt of his Courſe, is generally, we ſee, rounded with Clouds, when he is about to ve the Horizon. There is, then, good Rea- to ſuſpect thoſe nice Turns, which are made of to flatter the Greatneſs of Princes; for, may reſt aſſur'd, that thoſe high-flown orks of the Mind and Hand, in which Men ive to out-do one another in Times of Pro- rity, will be, one day, taken, not ſo much Monuments of the Glory of Sovereigns, as the Cringings of a People, who diſguiſe ir Fear and Hatred under thoſe Artifices. hen Men kiſs'd *Caligula*'s Feet, who, as the thors of that Age obſerve, had found means make *Liberty ſtoop below his Knees*; where- before his Time, it was ſufficient for Men, o waited on 'em, to touch their Princes ees with their Hand; when, I ſay, they him this new Homage, thoſe who were ſt earneſt in't, were, perhaps, the very Per-

ſons who bore that Neceſſity with the greate
Impatience. At leaſt, we do not, now-a-day
look upon thoſe fawning Honours which we
then paid him, as Proofs of his Glory, but r
ther of the Baſeneſs of a People deſervedly e
ſlaved. And thus it is with the Affairs of t
World. Such as live at the Time of Even
never do, nor dare judge of 'em, in a juſt a
equitable manner. Intereſt, Paſſion, Fear, th
biaſs Mens Minds, and never ſuffer 'em to
their Objects, otherwiſe than through a Ve
which diſguiſes 'em. But ſoon after, the
ſtarts up an impartial Judge, who ſees thin
without a Cloud, and judges 'em without R
ſpect or Paſſion. Men that have Twenty Le
ons at Command, may eaſily ſtop their Conte
poraries Mouths; But as Poſterity are not
fraid of their Arms, ſo neither do they
knowledge their Power. *'Tis ridiculous,* ſ
a Man very well acquainted with the Wor
*to imagine, that preſent Power is capable of effa
the Remembrance of Things in another Age.* A
this gave him the Opinion, that *a Prince o
to employ all his Thoughts, to the keeping up
good Reputation; and to have an inſatiable De
to leave a happy Memory behind him.* And th
indeed, all Princes are wont to attribute it
their Predeceſſors, in hopes, the like will,
day, be done to Them. This Epithet is, h
ever, very often given purely for Cuſtom-ſa
and, for want of the Thing, they are honou
with Words: For, it frequently happens, t
their Glory has no other Foundation, than
numents erected to 'em by Flattery, which
rather Trophies of the Oppreſſion of Peo
Subjects, or Neighbours, than Marks of a

d ſubſtantial Glory. And hence it is, that the iumphal Arches and Statues, and even the tars and Temples, are *bury'd in Oblivion. ſterity do not only deſpiſe, but even take the Li- y to curſe, them.* Then Princes appear en- ly naked, and deſpoil'd of that falſe Gloſs, ich Flattery had put upon their Actions; l Poſterity puniſh them with immortal Judg- nts, for denying their own Age the Liberty ſpeaking that of them, which they ought to e done. But on the contrary, thoſe whoſe e Greatneſs of Soul *knows how to ſet Bounds heir Ambition, and ſubdue the Paſſions inſpired n infinite Power, acquire, by Age, a more ſub- tial Glory, and are never more commended, than hoſe, who, living in a more remote Age, have leſs d to do it.* And thus we may aſſure our- es, that this is the Succeſs of Flattery; but t is a diſtant Evil, which never threatens nces, till They are no more, we muſt know , that there are more inſtant Evils, which reſages with a kind of Certainty. I have ady obſerv'd, in general, that it has been mmonly found, that thoſe Princes, who were ſt extoll'd by the Flattery of their Subjects, with the moſt miſerable End. And now I l give you a particular Example, which is er the leſs conſiderable, for its being very l known. It is that of the *Agrippa*, ſo fa- us for the Friendſhip of *Caligula*. The Ex- s of his Subjects Flattery, when he harangu'd , is recorded in Holy Writ, which imme- tely ſubjoins the ſudden Puniſhment that ued upon it. We may likewiſe read it in phane Hiſtory; and *Joſephus* has been at Pains of an ample Deſcription of the whole

Ceremony. The Acclamations of the Peop proceeded to ſuch Extremities, that they cry' out, when they heard him ſpeak; *'Tis the Voi of a God, and not of a Man.* But the Angel GOD ſmote him in a Moment, and feeling convinced him, that far from being endue with a *Divine* Excellence, he was liable, as we to GOD's moſt ſevere Judgments, as to *Mar* moſt grievous Infirmities. This Example is ſu gular enough, to induce thoſe Princes, who the Incenſe of their Subjects has too far elev ted, to reflect a little upon themſelves. *Joſephus* reports, that an Owl, perch'd upon Tree, over this *Herod*'s Head, was the Preſa of his diſmal End; and that, as the like V ſion had formerly portended a happy Chan of Fortune, when he was loaded with Iron and apprehenſive that his Misfortune wou not have ended with a Priſon; ſo this ſeco Apparition was the Sign of a certain Ru You may believe this, if you pleaſe, upon t Faith of an Author, who hardly ever ſpea Truth; But, for my part, I do affirm, tha without tarrying for the Apparition of Owl, thoſe Princes, to whom Men never ſpe nor write without Flattery, ought to look u on that Flattery, as a fatal Preſage; and th the Cry of the Night-Birds, how frightful ſ ever, and whatſoever Opinion the Vulgar ha of its Signification, is not ſo fatally ominou as thoſe flattering Voices, which thro' the E corrupt the Heart, and induce Men, encha ted with Proſperity, to forget what they are.

God's Voice, and not Man's.

The Spirit of Perſecution is the Ruin of a State.

To the Preſages above-mention'd, we m add the *Spirit of Perſecution*, which, where-ev it has prevail'd, has been the Ruin of the Sta

GO

GOD has never ſhew'd greater Indignation
t Mens Violences, than when they were le-
el'd againſt Religion; and, except in the Caſe
f Idolatry or Blaſphemy, (Crimes againſt
hich he has iſſu'd ſevere Laws) we ſhall not
nd, that ever he commanded, or even per-
itted, Men to torment one another, upon
ccount of their different Sentiments. On the
ontrary, all that ever he required of Stran-
ers, to live and converſe with his own Peo-
le, was, that they ſhould renounce Idolatry,
nd ſpeak of GOD with Reſpect; and when
ey ſubmitted to that Law, he forbad any In-
ry to be done them. Inſomuch that, with
is Exception, he ſubjected them to none but
e Civil Laws. They were neither compell'd
o Circumciſion, nor to the Sacrifices; and if
ey were obliged to keep the Sabbath, that
as done out of Polity, and not for a Ceremo-
y of Religion. As, therefore, GOD's Dealing
ith Men, is a good Example of the Conduct
behoves Men to obſerve with reſpect to one
nother; it ought to be receiv'd as a general
axim, that nothing, but Idolatry and Blaſ-
hemy, may be fairly hinder'd by the Rigour
f the Laws, and by the way of Authority.
ut farther, let us examine, a little, whether
oſe Defaults of Religion ought to be correct-
d by Violence and Conſtraint. Men of Piety,
nd eſpecially, zealous Magiſtrates, have Me-
hods not repugnant to Piety, to hinder the
rogreſs of Prophaneneſs, Hereſy, and Schiſm,
nd to maintain Truth, when GOD has been
raciouſly pleas'd to lead 'em to the Knowledge
f Himſelf. But Force is always unjuſt; and
is impoſſible, the Goodneſs of GOD ſhould

authorize cruel and barbarous Means, in or
der to the bringing Men over to his Ser
vice. It is frequently alledg'd, that human
Errours ought not to be imputed to Men a
Crimes; That is, Errours, which inſinuat
themſelves, and deceive Men by ſome Ap
pearance of Reaſon. But this does not ho
good in every thing; and it muſt be confeſs'd
to Man's Confuſion, that he frequently abu
ſes his Reaſon in ſuch an unworthy Manne
that the only Uſe he puts it to, is, to ſin i
Contradiction to all the Maxims of Good-Senſ
This happens to him, as often as his Actions
claſh with his own Sentiments; but eſpeciall
in the Caſe I am ſpeaking of. 'Tis certain
that moſt Men are Perſecutors by Inclina
tion. The Number of thoſe who have a righ
Judgment in this Affair, is very ſmall, if com
par'd with that of the others: But the Mul
titude are, doubtleſs, prepoſſeſs'd in Favou
of *Perſecution*. Nevertheleſs, ſuch as are mo
furious in perſecuting other Men, are the mo
equitable, when they themſelves fall, in the
Turn, into the Hands of Perſecutors. En
mine but the Writings of an honeſt *Roma
Catholick*, who ſtickles for the Law of *Perſe
cution*, in Favour of his Church; He under
takes to prove to you, that nothing can b
more lawful. As for ſuch Perſons as hav
never had Communion with her, 'tis as rea
ſonable, ſhe ſhould perſecute Them, to mak
'em ſubmit to her Will, as for a Sovereig
to go about to reduce, by Force of Arms, Fo
reigners in War againſt him. Conqueſt fo
Conqueſt, according to him; the Matter's e
qual. As for thoſe, who have forſaken h
Church

hurch; he'll never own, that it is neceſſa-
y to examine, whether the Cauſe of their Se-
aration be lawful; but, ſuppoſing his Church
o be always in the right, he takes it for
anted, that Men are always in the wrong
o ſeparate themſelves from her; And, upon
is Foundation, he concludes, that the Se-
arate are Children in Rebellion againſt their
other, who cheriſh'd them in her Boſom;
d againſt whom, conſequently, ſhe has all the
eaſon in the World to exerciſe her Power,
order to reduce them to the Obedience
ey refuſe her. Suppoſe, then, ſhe exerciſes
l manner of Violence, and Terrour, and
orment, againſt them; All this cannot be
ll'd *Perſecution*, but the Chaſtiſement which
good Mother ought to make uſe of againſt
ngrateful Children, who neither pay her Sub-
iſſion, nor Reſpect. But let him handle the
bject of the *Heatheniſh Perſecutions*, or exa-
ine into the State of his Religion, in the
aces where *Proteſtants* bear Rule; and you'll
rceive, he has quite chang'd his Tone. Vi-
ence and Injuſtice are then not only dete-
able Means in Religious Affairs; but even
e moſt gentle Methods practis'd in Oppoſi-
on to the Enterprizes of his *Catholicks*, will
ve no better Names than *horrid Crimes*, and
oody Perſecutions. All the Progreſs of a Re-
gion contrary to his, far from being law-
l Conqueſt, will be cruel Uſurpation. He'll
firm to you, that his Church is ſhamefully
erſecuted, in the very Places where ſhe en-
ys entire Liberty, and where neither Violence,
or Outrage, is offer'd to any of her Members;
ut withal, where ſhe is not permitted to reign

Miſtreſs, and, at the Expence of the Public Liberty, to uſurp the Means of oppreſſing others. That is to ſay, the Principle on which he grounds his Argument concerning *Perſecution*, will be made on purpoſe for him, and can be of no Uſe to thoſe, who find themſelves in the like State. In a word, he will make out Two Sorts of *Perſecution*; One unjuſt, the other lawful. That which the Church ſhall exerciſe for her Intereſt, will be juſt and equitable; That which ſhe ſhall ſuffer, will be cruel and impious, even tho' ſhe has brought it upon herſelf by the blacker Villanies, with which her Genius inſpires her Defenders.

That Men in general are inclin'd to perſecute.

But what ſeems to me worſt of all, is that the *Proteſtants* alſo are, for the moſt part blinded by the ſame Illuſion; and that a great many of 'em perſuade themſelves, that no *Perſecution* is forbidden, ſave only that which they endure; preſuming, at the ſame time that there is nothing unlawful in that which they are guilty of towards their own Brethren, or which they would exerciſe againſt their old Perſecutors, if it was in their Power to quit Scores with 'em. But let it not ſurprize us, that the Spirit of *Chriſtians* is not a-days govern'd by ſuch extravagant Maxims. Theſe Pretenſions, how abſurd ſoever, are nevertheleſs juſtify'd by their Antiquity, as well as a great many other things, in which Defence nothing better can be pleaded. The *Chriſtians* of the firſt Ages ſet a Pattern for the others, who were to come after. They took it very heinouſly, that They were *perſecuted*; as we may ſee in the curious Apo-

es of their Innocence; but as ſoon as they
d the Power in their own Hands, they
ought it very agreeable to *perſecute*. They
ade a terrible Outcry againſt the *Heathenish*
ws, which tended to oblige their Conſcien-
s; but no ſooner did it come to their Turn
govern, but they iſſued Laws of the ſame
enour, for the Deſtruction of *Paganiſm*;
hich the Preaching of the Goſpel, and *Chri-*
an Converſation, already tainted with ſenſi-
e Corruptions, did not effect with that Speed
hich they required. You need only read over
. *Auſtin*'s Declamations againſt the Extra-
gances of the *Donatiſts*, to judge how wic-
d he thought it in them, to arm their feeble
rguments with Cruelty and Violence: But
e good Father, perceiving that the Empe-
rs liſten'd to his Counſels and Demands,
ought it not at all contradictory to his for-
er Maxims, to implore the Aſſiſtance of the
cular Arm, againſt thoſe Enemies of the
blick Tranquillity. Thus too, becauſe the
rians had exercis'd horrid Cruelties againſt
e *Orthodox*, whilſt the Princes favour'd *A-*
niſm; the *Orthodox* would, by no means,
ſe their Turn, but, when they had Princes
ho comply'd with their Deſires, paid the *A-*
ns their paſt ill Uſage, with Intereſt. The
me was yet practis'd after a more ſpecious
anner, when *Chriſtians* had to do with Peo-
e of a different Religion. Thus, the *Sara-*
ns having formerly been cruel, they were
ade to ſuffer the dire Puniſhment thereof,
d were look'd upon as proper Objects of
e *Perſecution* of the *Chriſtians*; for, by a
axim, for which there is not, perhaps, the

leaſt

leaſt Foundation in the Goſpel, it was made
Duty of Conſcience, to out them of their
ſtates, and rob them of their Goods. And b
cauſe this was not ſufficient, People were ex
ted againſt 'em, by Promiſes of Paradiſe, a
Indulgences, as in Conſideration of the m
excellent Works of Piety. Nevertheleſs, if
thoroughly examine into this Affair, it
a ſtrange Method of obtaining eternal Life,
aſpire to it by Pillage and Plunder, by Burni
and Bloodſhed, and the Brutiſhneſs of imp
dent Soldiers towards the weaker Sex, pro
tuted to 'em by Victory. And beſides, the
racens had the ſame Right of Poſſeſſion in t
Countries where they had eſtabliſh'd the
ſelves by the Sword, as any of the *Chriſ*
Princes who made War upon them; inſom
that it is impoſſible to conceive, upon w
Grounds the *Chriſtians* went, that they co
perſuade themſelves, it was a good Work
expel the others, ſince they were as m
Uſurpers as the *Saracens*. For Inſtance, t
Goths, who were come from the North, to ſ
tle themſelves in *Spain*, had no more Right
that Country, than the *Saracens*, who ca
from ſome Provinces of *Arabia*. But, in ſho
the Itch of *Perſecution* had ſuch an Influe
over their Minds, that they choſe rather
poſſeſs themſelves of other Mens Eſtates, u
der Colour of Religion, that is to ſay, und
Colour of *Perſecution*, than under the comm
Pretences of Wars of State, or in the ordi
ry Views of Policy. Mean time, this Miſch
has ſpread itſelf yet farther; for, from taki
a Delight in coming even with thoſe who fi
perſecuted them, the *Chriſtians* began, at la

perſecute even thoſe, who had never given y Occaſion for it, and who were guilty of other Crime, than that of ſpeaking what ey thought concerning the Corruption of *riſtianity*, and refraining from the Abuſes hich were a Burden to their Conſciences. his was the Treatment of the *Albigeois*, a iet People, who deſir'd nothing of any bo-. And this has been the Treatment of the *oteſtants*, where-ever the *Papiſts* have had the wer in their Hands; albeit, they are a Peo- ſo uncapable of undertaking any thing for e Advancement of their Religion, that they ve much ado to maintain and defend them- ves, and are content to be divided among mſelves, and to excommunicate one another Matters of very little Importance; as here *England*, for Inſtance, about ſome indiffe- nt Points of Polity and Diſcipline; and elſe- ere for a few particular Modes, and Que- ons, which ought never to break the Bond Charity.

Of the Laws of Conſcience.

HAD we a right Apprehenſion of the Ex- nt of the Laws of *Conſcience*, it would be im- ſible for us ever to imagine, that it is law- to put the leaſt Conſtraint upon it. Men often miſtaken, when they ſpeak of it, and willing to examine what is meant by the ord *Conſcience*. The Writings of very inge- us Men, upon this Subject, would make laugh. They examine very ſeriouſly, Whe- r *Conſcience* is a *Faculty* or a *Habit*? Where s ſeated? What is its Form? and all the er Beauties which the *School-Men* have bor- w'd from the Corruption of Good Senſe. vertheleſs, there needs not a great deal of Philo-

What Conſcience is, and its true Definition.

Philoſophy, to give the true Definition of C*onſcience.* It is nothing elſe, but the Knowled we have of our own Sentiments, by the R flexion we ourſelves make upon our Thoug We know, that we think, and what we thi and why we think any thing. This is inſep rable from us; and it is not in our Power, deprive ourſelves of this Knowledge. T Idea is very general; and yet it is natur And tho' the Word is apply'd to more par cular Uſes, which confine its Signification; neverthleſs certain, that *Conſcience* has p perly the Extent I mention. But it is reaſo able, when we ſpeak of it at this time of d to take that Expreſſion in its moſt confi Senſe, becauſe otherwiſe it would be impoſſi to underſtand the Queſtions relating to t Matter. I, therefore, take *Conſcience*, in par cular, for the inward Sentiment we have our Thoughts, with reſpect to Morality, a eſpecially, to Religion; or, to confine the U of it yet more, I make uſe of it to ſignify t ſecret Judgment we give, as to the Quality the inward Principles, which guide us in R ligion and Morality. When *Conſcience* is tak in this Senſe, it is call'd *good* or *evil*, *miſgui* or *enlightned*: Good, when it finds no Fa with a Man for acting contrary to the Pri ciples of his Knowledge, but is ſincere in wh he does, behaving himſelf as his Lights p ſuade him he ſhould: Evil, when it condem the Principles of a Man's Conduct, who kno very well, that he ought to act otherwiſe, he would govern himſelf according to his i ward Perſuaſion: Miſguided, when it is d ceiv'd in its Principles, tho' it is not decei

Particular Definition of Conſciences.

its Conſequences: Enlightned, when its Prin-
ples are true and certain. Men are, perhaps,
ſtaken, when they attribute *Errour* or *Light*
the *Conſcience*; for certainly, the *Conſcience*
ing nothing elſe but a Sentiment which we
ve of our own Thoughts, as they are, or
pear to us, 'tis impoſſible it ſhould ever err.
may follow the Errour of the Mind which
dges; but cannot err itſelf: For it is a kind
Contradiction, to ſay, we believe we think
hat we do not think. There are, I confeſs,
ry knowing Men, who fancy they ſay Some-
ing, when they tell us, that we believe we
metimes believe. But theſe are Thoughts,
hich confound their own Authors, and, if
u are not ſatisfy'd, they ſhould be call'd
ibbles, are yet no better than *witty Conceits*.
'is impoſſible we ſhould be deceiv'd, when we
ink we believe. In that reſpect, a Man is
ways upon the Square with himſelf; and it
nnot be, but his *Conſcience* muſt make him
faithful Report of the State of his own
houghts. To *believe* is to *think*. By how
uch, therefore, it is impoſſible for a Man to
miſtaken, when he believes he *thinks*, by ſo
uch is it impoſſible for him to be deceiv'd,
hen he believes he *believes*. He may, indeed,
miſtaken, when he attributes to his Opi-
on or his Faith, a Quality which it has not;
, for Example, when he takes that for a con-
ant Perſuaſion, which is but a changeable
pinion. Thus alſo he is miſtaken, with re-
ard to his own Thoughts, when he inveſts
m with a Property they have not; as, when
e takes a falſe Idea for a true: But as this
rrour, which he commits, touching the Qua-
lities

lities of his Thoughts, does not hinder h
from *really* thinking what he *believes* he thin
ſo the Miſtake he falls under, with reſpect
the Qualities of what he calls *Believing*, d
not hinder him from believing *really*, what
thinks he believes; at leaſt, ſo long as this P
ſuaſion endures. But this Affair deſerves
farther Diſcuſſion: 'Tis better, in the Mat
of *Words*, to ſpeak as other Men do, than
enter into a Diſpute, by giving them a T
different from their common Acceptation. W
muſt, therefore, content ourſelves with hav
hinted at the Errour imply'd in the Terms
miſguided and *enlightned Conſcience*, and m
uſe of the Expreſſion; leſt, for want of ſpe
ing as other Men do, we ſhould fall into
Obſcurity, which would render us unintel
gible. Let us ſay, then, that *Conſcience*, wh
ther *good* or *evil*, may be equally *miſguided*
enlightned. It may be *good*, even when it
miſguided; and *evil*, tho' it is *enlightned*. Th
is eaſily apprehended, if we reflect upon t
Definition I have given of *good* or *evil Conſc*
ence: It is *good*, when a Man has no ſecr
Struggles of Thought, with reſpect to his Ma
ner of Conduct; but acts in Conformity
his Principle, and a certain Perſuaſion of Min
And this may happen, as well when he is
the wrong, as when he is in the right. H
Errour being, indeed, what he does in Conſ
quence of that Errour, cannot be taken f
an Effect of *evil Conſcience*. 'Tis true, this do
not make the Action *good*; but notwithſtan
ing the *Wickedneſs* of the *Action*, the *Man* ma
nevertheleſs, be of a Piece with himſelf, a
his *Conſcience* may be good, in the Senſe I ha
explai

lain'd it. Neither does the Mind's being *ghtned*, hinder ones *Conſcience* from being , when he finds, within himſelf, that he s not act according to his Lights.

Of Liberty of Conſcience.

ut the main Queſtion to be handled, when are ſpeaking of *Conſcience*, regards its *Li-*, which is the moſt natural and moſt im-tant of all its Privileges. This, of ſuch ht, belongs to it, that it is impoſſible to e it away; and all the Violence that can done to Men, is of no other Uſe, than to der 'em from ſhewing their real Sentiments, can never hinder 'em from thinking what think, and believing what they believe, perceiving, whether that which they do, re oblig'd to do, be agreeable or diſagree-e to their Perſuaſion and their Knowledge.

There are three principal Degrees of Liberty.

n have three remarkable Degrees of *Liberty*. e firſt is the Degree of *Liberty*, which may hinder'd by outward Violence, and where-Man is ſo little Maſter, that he may be de-'d of it, in ſpite of his Teeth. Such is the erty of bodily Actions: It is liable to Con-int, and ſuperiour Strength. 'Tis of no to a Man, to be for, or againſt; This Part his Liberty is always at the Diſcretion of Strongeſt. The ſecond Degree of *Liberty* iſts in certain Diſpoſitions of the Will, erein he cannot properly be forced, but in ich he may impoſe a voluntary Yoke upon nſelf: For he may bind himſelf by certain ws, and, of his own Accord, render his n Will altogether dependent on that of ther Man: And this is done, either by re-ncing that Part of his *Liberty*, upon Civil nſiderations; as, when he enters into a So-

ciety

ciety with other Men, under mutual Con
tions and Duties; or, by renouncing it, f
Reaſons which ſeem to him to be Religio
as, when he obliges himſelf by Vows, to t
a *Superiour*'s Will for the Principle of his C
duct. This *Liberty* is not properly ſubject
Conſtraint; for tho' a Man may be forced
live, as if he had renounced this *Liberty*;
he cannot be forced to renounce it, whether
will or no. Violence conſtrains his *Actio*
but it does not, in the leaſt, conſtrain
Mind. He is obliged to *do* that which t
Strongeſt thinks fit; but he cannot be oblig
to *approve* it. All this while, he may vol
tarily ſubmit himſelf to it, and confine his
berty by a kind of *Servitude*; whereof we d
ly ſee innumerable Examples. The third
gree is the *Liberty* which belongs to the C
ſcience; And this is ſo ſolid, ſo immutable,
independent, that Man cannot only not
it by *outward* Force, but he cannot even
nounce it, let him uſe his utmoſt Efforts.
him turn his Mind which way he pleaſes,
this ſhall be free againſt his Will; and he c
not hinder himſelf from perceiving, whet
he approves or diſapproves his Maxims or
Actions. Inſomuch that it may be affirm
with Reaſon, that the *Conſcience* is what is p
perly *free* in Mankind; ſince there is no For
either inward or outward, capable of bre
ing thro' it. That which may be conſtrain
is not perfectly free, let the Limitation or
minution of its Privilege proceed from whe
it will. There is nothing free, but that wh
is ſo perfectly ſo, that it is impoſſible to h
der it from being ſo. Would Men but ent
t

in this Notion of *Freedom*, the Method of entleneſs and Liberty would be more us'd, erhaps, in the Converſion of Men, than it s hitherto been. But this is the Buſineſs of ivines. One Reflexion, however, which tou-es very cloſe upon this Subject, is, that if e Heed was given to the Privilege of the *nſcience*, it were enough to convince all ſuch are guided by Reaſon, that there is nothing ore unjuſt, than to go about to deprive Men this Degree of *Liberty*; ſince it is not even their own Power to make it away; and that, whatever Treaty Men think to bind it, by hatever Terrour conſtrain it, or by whatever nning ſurprize it, they cannot be diveſted of at free Judgment which they paſs upon their wn Actions, and which makes them perceive, hether thoſe Actions agree, or not, with eir Perſuaſion and their Lights. To go a-ut, therefore, to conſtrain it on that ſide, to ſet Men at Variance with themſelves, and ake 'em undergo the moſt cruel Torment they n be expos'd to, by forcing them to do that hich they know, or believe, they ought not do; and eſpecially in Religion, that which ey know, or believe, to tend to their eter-l Ruin.

of Toleration, and when it is due.

But Men are very much divided about the ffair of *Liberty of Conſcience*; and their Minds ing, as I have obſerv'd, naturally inclined perſecute, ſome think, a Diſtinction ought be made between *Conſcience* and *Conſcience*, d that the *Liberty* ſhould be yielded up en-e to thoſe, who have Truth and Reaſon on eir ſide; but that the others ought not to joy a Liberty, which in Them would be

Uſurpation, becauſe, by its very Nature, it be
longs not to Errour and Injuſtice. Such as ar
of this Opinion, do inſenſibly relapſe into th
Miſtake of thoſe, who imagine, that no Perſe
cution is unjuſt, but that which they endure
and that it is not the ſame thing with reſpe
to that which they are guilty of. For, as ev
ry Man has a good Opinion of himſelf and h
Party, he pretends, that an unbounded Libe
ty ought to be granted to him alone, and th
it ought to be deny'd to all ſuch as are of a
Opinion contrary to his. Others, again, ru
into the other Extreme, and aſſert, that a
equal Privilege ought to be allow'd to all Pa
ties; and ſo, that Errour ſhould have as muc
Law of its Side, as the Truth. Theſe two co
trary Opinions agree, however, in this, th
they are equally ſubject to unſpeakable Inco
veniences. If the *former* be follow'd, there w
never be *Toleration*, nor *Peace*, among Me
by reaſon every one will pretend, that t
Point wherein he differs from his Adverſari
is of too great Importance, ever to ſuffer hi
to bear with Men of contrary Sentiments. E
will inſiſt upon the Surplice, as a Thing, whe
in the Liberty purchas'd for him by *Jeſus Chr*
is concern'd; and an Order of Decrees in P
deſtination, will be taken for a juſt Cauſe
mutual *Anathemas*. If we ſide with the *lat*
we hamper ourſelves in the moſt dreadful Co
ſequences; becauſe it neceſſarily follows, fr
the Principle of *Univerſal Toleration*, that
Courſe of Errour will never be ſtopp'd,
Blaſphemies hinder'd; nay, that Idolatry
ſelf, *the great Crime of the World, the higheſt P*
of Sin, and for the Deſtruction whereof
Go

oſpel was preach'd, will not be aboliſh'd. But go farther yet, and affirm, that according to e Principles of ſuch as are wedded to this pinion, *Perſecution* itſelf would never be ſti-ed. For it being their general Principle, that ery Man ought to have Liberty to act ac-rding to his *Conſcience*, it is evident, that if y one ſincerely believes, he may lawfully rſecute thoſe who are of a different Senti-ent from his, he ought not to be hinder'd om perſecuting them. A hopeful Means this! eſtabliſh Peace in the World, by allowing e Party to oppreſs the other, with a *Proviſo* ey be perſuaded in *Conſcience*, they are obli-d ſo to do. It were not worth one's while, to tabliſh a new Syſtem of the Privileges of *Con-ence*, ſhould Things be left in the ſame State ey were allow'd by the Sentiment that is op-gn'd. What is moſt to be admir'd, is, that ery one owns the Inconveniences of his Opi-on, and yet, out of an unaccountable Hu-our, obſtinately perſiſts therein, be it never clogg'd with Objections and Difficulties, ich he confeſſes himſelf uncapable of reſol-g. There is form'd, indeed, a third Sett of *A third Opinion concerning Toleration.* n, who pretend, that *Toleration* ought to be ited; and, conſequently, that the Severity ich is exercis'd againſt thoſe to whom the *leration* ought not to extend, ſhould proceed to a certain Degree, beyond which it would Cruelty and Injuſtice. But there is likewiſe e Inconvenience in this Third Opinion; and t is, that tho' the Principle is reaſonable in *Theory*, yet it is next to an Impoſſibility to uce it into *Practice*. Men know not where find thoſe Bounds of *Toleration* and Severity;

and when they ſearch for 'em, either they ſa
nothing but general Things, which ſtill lea
the Matter undecided; or elſe they advan
Things liable to Diſpute, which, far from re
dring the Caſe more intelligible, do but mo
clog and embroil it. 'Tis a greater Perplexi
than is imagin'd, this, of looking for the Po
of Right in crabbed Queſtions, which have,
all hands, almoſt the ſame Difficulties, and t
ſame Probabilities. I'll give you my Thoug
upon this Head; not that they are, perha
better than others, but only to let you ſee, h
I apprehend the Matter. It appears to me, t
How and when Toleration is due. *Toleration* is due, in the *firſt* place, when it
promis'd; and that *Perſecution* being of it
odious and inhumane, it becomes doubly
when it is exercis'd in Contradiction to Fa
given. We muſt admit it as a Principle, t
GOD is not to be ſerv'd with Cruelties, m
leſs with Lyes; otherwiſe, as we ought to ſ
poſe, that the Service which is perform'd t
Deity, is founded upon the Properties of
Nature, we muſt imagine, that GOD is Cr
and a Lyer; which to ſay, is Blaſphemy;
think, is Impiety. Wherefore, when *Tole*
tion is promis'd, it muſt be obſerv'd; and
then too late to examine, whether it ought
have been promis'd. That Examination ou
to precede the Promiſe; but when this is gi
it is no longer allowable. *Secondly*, when
leration is not promis'd, we ought always
judge favourably of the Opinions which are
abominable: Indeed, I can, by no means,
prove the Exaggerations of thoſe Men, w
call all kinds of Errour, by the Name of *H*
ſies, and who, in the leaſt Illuſions of the M

e point out damnable Tenets and helliſh Opi-ions. *Thirdly*, we muſt, upon no Account, ppugn Opinions meerly Speculative, which e of no Conſequence with reſpect either to Vorſhip, or Practice, and which do not pro-ed from a Spirit of Intereſt, and Deſign of uſing the Simplicity of others, to their own dvantage. The Opinions wherein this Cha-cter of Intereſt is obſervable, are not ſo much e Buſineſs of Religion, as of State: For, Re-gion has nothing to do with the Concerns of ife. When, therefore, certain pecuniary Do-rines are ſent abroad into the World, under e Mask of Religion, which ſerve for no other nd, than to ſubmit the Purſes of the Ignorant o the Craft of thoſe who broach ſuch Maxims f Intereſt, it is the Sovereign's Part, to look fter it, and to maintain the Laws of the Land, nd the Eſtates of their Subjects, againſt the rtifice of this Order of Teachers. I ſay, once ore, this does not, in the leaſt, regard Re-gion, tho' Men make uſe of its Name, to hide e Craft that lurks under that Diſguiſe; other-iſe, there are no Maxims, but what ought to e *tolerated*, even tho' they ſhould tend to the uin of States, and the Baniſhing of Peace from mong Men; provided only, they be cover'd nder the Cloak of Religion. *Laſtly*, I believe, hat we ought to *tolerate* thoſe, whoſe Senti-ents have nothing of Sedition in them, but ay be rather taken for Scruples of an ill-ad-is'd Mind, and miſinform'd with regard to ertain Truths, with which they are not ſo ell acquainted, as to receive 'em without He-tation; whoſe Sentiments, I ſay, may be taken or ſuch Scruples, rather than for the Viſions

of a reſtleſs Mind, which goes about to diſturb the Publick Tranquillity.

When Toleration is not due.

THESE are the general Bounds which I would give to *Toleration*; but I cannot approve the Complaiſance of thoſe, who are for granting free Liberty to *Idolaters*. We muſt either have forgotten, or at leaſt, have never learnt the Deteſtation with which the Holy Scriptures ſpeak of that impious Worſhip; and it were to affront the Majeſty of the Moſt High GOD, to imagine, that we ought to *tolerate* that which he has condemn'd after ſo ſevere a manner, and puniſh'd with the moſt glaring Inſtances of his Vengeance; ſuch as Suſpenſions, and the Deſtruction of whole Nations to whom he would not ſo much as ſuffer Men to ſhew Mercy. I muſt confeſs, that if, after all this, I ſhould believe, the Goſpel obliges us to let the *Idolaters* go on, and to *tolerate* them with as much Charity, as we ſhould thoſe who differ from us only in ſome few Points of *Diſcipline*, or Punctilios of the *School-Men*; I ſhould think myſelf within an Ace of *Manicheiſm*, ſince I ſhould repreſent all GOD's Severities under the Law, as deny'd by the Doctrine of the New Covenant. 'Tis, therefore, my Opinion, that *Idolatry* cannot lawfully be tolerated by ſuch, as have the Happineſs to be call'd to a pure Religion. The ſame I alſo ſay of *Blaſphemy*: Nor can I conceive, how Men, who pretend to Piety, and the Love of GOD, can reconcile the Principle of their Zeal and Love with that of *tolerating Blaſphemers*. But, leſt you ſhould lay too much Streſs on the Word, I don't take *Blaſphemy*, in this Place, to ſignify only the Vice of thoſe, who abuſe the Name

Name of GOD, by falſe or frivolous Oaths; but all manner of impious and blaſphemous Doctrines whatſoever. In this Rank I place the *Atheiſts*, who cannot be ſuffer'd, without authorizing the moſt horrid of all Blaſphemies; for, more dreadful there cannot be, than that of diſputing with GOD, either his Exiſtence, or his Providence. Among theſe I likewiſe reckon the Men, who lay down Indifference in Matters of Religion as their Principle; a Sentiment which implies a *blaſphemous* Thought; to-wit, that GOD has, *unneceſſarily*, impos'd upon Mankind, the Yoke of certain Religions, which he himſelf has been pleas'd to reveal to them; foraſmuch as there is nothing more abſurd, nor more unworthy an infinite Wiſdom, than to command one certain Religion to be follow'd preferably to all others, if it be true, that they are all indifferent. Laſtly, under this Name I comprehend thoſe alſo, who ſet themſelves up for Judges of the *Divinity*; and, not content with confining, at their Pleaſure, the Perfections of his infinite Nature, take upon 'em even to impart it to whom they pleaſe: Great and prudent Dispenſers of the Glory of God! who, for fear of multiplying the *Divinity*, by dividing his Nature into ſeveral Perſons, chooſe rather to make ſeveral Degrees of it, and to divide it into more than one Kind. I know not what the Sentiments of others may be concerning theſe Men; but when I ſee 'em thus diſpoſing of the Nature and Rights of GOD, I cannot but conceive ſome Indignation againſt 'em, and look with Horrour on the Inſolence of Perſons, who conſtitute themſelves GOD's Judges; and,

becauſe they cannot deny, but that the Goſp
gives the Name, and attributes the Works,
GOD, to more than one Subject, make bold t
define what Degree of Difference there is b
tween the Divinity of one, and that of the othe
Thus, the mildeſt Epithet which can be given
their Doctrine, is that of *Blaſphemous*. Nor mu
they think to anſwer, that their Adverſari
are themſelves the *Blaſphemers*, inaſmuch
they attribute the Eternal Godhead to the So
as well as to the Father, whereas it belongs t
none but the Father alone: For, tho' it we
even poſſible, the Queſtion ſhould be regarde
as problematical; 'tis certain, however, th
ſuch as acknowledge but one Sort of Godhe
common both to the Father and the Son, ſpea
of that of the Son in the Phraſe of Scriptur
the Letter whereof is on their ſide; Where
thoſe who acknowledge a God, that has not a
ways been one, are obliged, when they woul
ſpeak what they think, to ſpeak in other La
guage than Scripture; for, they cannot den
but that it has ſome Paſſages, wherein the S
is formally call'd GOD; whereas there is n
one Paſſage in Scripture, which ſays formall
that he is not ſo. Wherefore, when, after a
the Matter may be, in the main, dubious, tho
Perſons can never be accus'd of *Blaſphemy*, wh
expecting the Deciſion of the Laſt Day, ſpea
of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as he is every where mention
in Scripture; but the Suſpicion will ſtill remai
on their ſide, who cannot explain what th
think, without giving up the Letter of the Scri
ptures. But 'tis the Buſineſs of Divines, to di
cuſs this Point. Mean time, beſides the *Idolate*
and *Blaſphemers*, I exclude likewiſe, from *Tol*

ratio

tion, the Authors of a turbulent and ambi-
us Doctrine, whoſe Principles are, to de-
oy all the other Religions, in order the bet-
r to eſtabliſh their own. I can't underſtand,
w thoſe who ſtickle for *Univerſal Toleration*,
erlook this Inconvenience in their Doctrine.
thoſe are *tolerated*, who do not *tolerate* others,
d whoſe imperious Religion would reign ab-
lute, to the Deſtruction of all that ſtand in
pposition thereto, What Thanks can ſuch as
erate that Communion, expect? Will they
t devour Them too, as ſoon as it is in their
wer? Have we not had a long and woful
perience enough, of their Intentions, when
ey have had the Power to pleaſe themſelves,
be able to give a Gueſs at what they would
, ſhould they be left in a Capacity of pur-
ing their Inclinations? One muſt be wretch-
ly blind indeed, to doubt, after all, of their
rcing Mens Conſciences, where-ever they
ll be permitted to act conformably to their
inciples. But, I would fain know, by what
ecept of the Goſpel, I am obliged to put it
to my Neighbour's Power to perſecute me?
what Injury I do him, when, without the
aſt Thought of oppreſſing or conſtraining
im, I only deprive him of the Means of op-
reſſing or conſtraining Me; which he would
fallibly do, ſhould I *tolerate* him with all his
axims? Why, you will tell me, perhaps, that
is Communion muſt put on the Spirit of *To-
ration*, as well as the others; and that it is up-
this Conſideration, that you propoſe a *gene-
l Toleration*. You ſay very well; for, upon
at Condition, I would *tolerate* this Commu-
on; that is, if they would firſt abjure their
prin-

principal Maxim, which is, to get by Fo whatſoever they cannot obtain by Right, a to keep their Faith to no Man, when they f their Account in violating it. Juſt as much to ſay, all Men ought to *tolerate* one a ther, provided thoſe who have *intolerable* Sen ments, renounce them for the Maintenance Peace. At this rate, indeed, *Univerſal Tole tion* would not be ſuch an inconvenient Thi For the reſt, it is evident, from what I h ſaid concerning *Idolatry*, *Blaſphemy*, and the *rit of Perſecution*, that if every Communio wherein One of theſe Characters reigns, d ſerves not to be *tolerated*; then that, in whi All thoſe Properties are conſpicuous, oug much leſs to lay Claim to *Toleration*.

The Difference between not tolerating and perſecuting.

NEVERTHELESS, there is a great deal Difference between *not tolerating*, and *perſe ting*. The one is agreeable to Piety; the oth contradictory even to *Chriſtianity*. But it w not be amiſs, to obſerve, in this Place, t

Two Obſervations.

Things relating to the Privileges of *Conſcien*

The firſt.

The *firſt* concerns the Propoſition of ſome Me who take it for a Principle, that GOD has e dued Mankind with *Conſcience*, as the ſupre Law of their Conduct; which makes othe tremble. This may be true, and yet the Co ſequences, drawn from thence, not allowabl The Principle is inconteſtable; or elſe, t *Heathens* could not have been condemn'd, f having diſobey'd that inward Voice. 'Tis tru the *Conſcience* is now-a-days drawn away b the Errour of the *Reaſon*; but this does n diveſt it of the Right of governing Mens Live no more than the Errour of the *Reaſon* d prives *it* of the Right of being the natur

Mea

ans to find out the Truth. Can any one , that the Light of *Reaſon* was not given to n for a *Guide*, becauſe Sin has eclips'd and nded it? or undertake to prove to me, by *ſon*, that I am obliged to know and con- ve Things contrary to *Reaſon?* Juſt ſo it with reſpect to *Conſcience*. Tho' 'tis a Guide ich ſometimes loſes its way, GOD has, ne- theleſs, given it to us, as our *Guide*; and would be very extraordinary, for a Man to about to prove, by Motives of *Conſcience*, t we ought to act ſometimes againſt our own *ſciences*. To be of this Opinion, one muſt unacquainted with *Reaſon*, and *Conſcience*, *Man's Nature*. As the Corruption of our *ſon* convinces us, that we ought not to take that it dictates to us, for Oracle; ſo the Er- r into which our *Conſcience* is led by the l, will not permit us to yield to it as an llible Judge; albeit, in the main, it is im- ible for us, not to ſubmit to its Authority, acknowledge its Sovereignty: But there Difference between Sovereignty and Infal- lity; Nay, ſo far are thoſe two Properties m always going together, that there is a d of Antipathy between 'em.

My *ſecond* Obſervation regards the Com- riſon of *miſguided Conſcience*, with *Conſcience ghtned*. Some will have 'em to be alike in Things; while others make a little Diſtin- on. *Conſcience* muſt be conſider'd, both as it ers to GOD, and as it relates to *Man*; but in ither of theſe two Reſpects can it have the ne Extent, or the ſame Limitation. Its Pri- eges are more confined with reſpect to GOD. is not independent, neither is it ſubject to Men: *Second Obſervation.*

Men: But it is not exempted from underg
ing the Scrutiny and Judgment of GOD. T
natural Cauſe, why it is not ſubjected to Ma
Authority, is becauſe he knows not the Sec
of its Motions. Every one knows himſe
and, whether he will or not, is acquainted wi
the State of his own *Conſcience*; or if,
Chance, he is, at any time, in a State of Ig
rance or Supinity, that proceeds meerly fr
the Want of Attention, which he may rem
dy, by bringing himſelf to account for
Thoughts: But he knows not the State of a
ther Man's *Conſcience*. 'Twould be ridiculo
therefore, to claim any Authority over a thi
which he cannot ſo much as penetrate int
And hence it follows, that the *Conſcience*
not the ſame Privileges, with reſpect to GO
as it has with regard to Man. That which
ſerve for an Excuſe before Men, will not
ſo before GOD. Before Men, there is no
ſtinguiſhing between *miſguided Conſcience*, a
Conſcience enlightned; becauſe that which en
may be as ſincere in its Errour, as that wh
does not err, is in its Knowledge: But bef
GOD, the Qualities of being *miſguided* and
lightned are clearly diſtinguiſh'd; ſo that
Four States of the Conſcience before GOD. *Conſcience* may appear before him in four d
ferent States. The *firſt*, and moſt perfe
joins the Qualities of *good* and *enlightned*, wh
a Man has good Principles, and knows, t
he acts in Conformity to his Principles. T
ſecond reconciles the Qualities of *miſguided* a
good; as, when the Mind, prepoſſeſs'd with
falſe Principle, acts nevertheleſs agreeably
that Principle. The *third* unites the Qualit
of *miſguided* and *evil*; that is, when a Ma
be

ng in an Errour, which he takes for a uth, is nevertheleſs ſenſible, that he acts a- nſt his own Lights. The *fourth*, and worſt all, jumbles the Qualities of *enlightned* and *t*; as, when a Man, being thorowly per- ded of a certain Truth, does yet accuſe him- f of acting contrary to his own Conviction. theſe four States, in which GOD ſees the *ſcience*, he approves of none but the firſt on- The three others are defective, and can- t, in Strictneſs, be agreeable to Him. The ond has ſome Excuſe, but very inſufficient; reaſon, Errour, in the Things which paſs tween GOD and Man, and comprehend the tural Duties of the Creature, is always look'd on as avoidable, becoming no otherwiſe in- itable and invincible, than by his own Fault. ncerity is not capable of bringing him off. he *Conſcience*, in this State, is call'd *good*, on- in an equivocating Senſe, wherein *good* is ken for that which is not utterly *bad*. Nor n the third State be reckon'd any better than e other. 'Tis true, he that acts contrary to s Errour, ſeems thereby to have, once more, cover'd the Path whence Errour had invei- ed him; and this were a good Diſpoſition, d his Manner of Acting but proceed from a enſe of his Miſtake: But, ſo long as his Errour aſſes with him for a Truth, 'tis no Excuſe at l for him, to deſpiſe and oppugn that which e believes to be inveſted with the Rights of ruth. A Man who ſins againſt Univerſal aws, is always in Fault; becauſe thoſe Laws re founded upon an immutable Right. Now, here is no Law more Univerſal, than that hich commands the Worſhip of One GOD:

And

And can we think, then, that a ſincere *Id*
ter does a good Work, when he proſtrates hi
ſelf before his *Idol*, becauſe, following the
rour which prepoſſeſſes him, he does it for
ſake of a good Conſcience? Neither, therefo
can this third State be look'd upon as ſuff
able in the Sight of GOD: But the fourth
more criminal than all the reſt; becauſe, if th
be Evil in not acting according to an Errour
ken for the Truth, there is a great deal more
acting downright againſt the Truth itſelf,
monſtrated and acknowledg'd.

That the Decay of States is involv'd in the Clergy's Proſperity.

'Tis apparent, that the Decay of States
a conſtant Attendant of the Proſperity of
Body of the *Clergy*, equally faithleſs and am
tious. I mean, however, the *Eccleſiaſticks*
the firſt Rank only, without any Regard to
inferiour Clergy, whom I look upon as meer
ſtruments of the Paſſion of thoſe who gove
them; juſt as the Common-Soldiers do no m
than execute their Commanders Orders. T
Strength of the Party is, indeed, in the Numb
of thoſe who compoſe the *inferiour* Claſs; b
the Counſel and *motive* Vertue are couch'd
the *ſuperiour* Order; for which Reaſon, I lo
upon Theſe as the Authors of all the Miſchie
and, therefore, worthy all the Reproach.
don't ſpeak of thoſe, who having broken wi
the Church of *Rome*, have, without Doubt,
ought to have, renounced the Maxims, whi
had, by degrees, eſtabliſh'd themſelves in t
Eccleſiaſtical Conduct, tho' thoſe Maxims cre
into it, almoſt as ſoon as Riches and Honou
Long before the Converſion of the Emperor
had the Spirit of Briguing and Cabaling e
ter'd into the Paſtors; who, to ſow the Se

Contention and Diſcord, took Delight in ning to all the Corners of the World. Of we may ſee grievous Complaints, in the itings of St. *Cyprian*, who therein condemns, may be, the Enterprizes of the *Clergy* of e, who had, even then, great Views and ghty Pretenſions. But the Thing has been y'd a great deal farther, ſince the Eleva- of *Chriſtianity* upon the Throne. Thus, xcites Pity in me, to ſee how the Biſhops n'd and winded the Heart of *Conſtantine*. met with more Trouble in reconciling their ferences, than he had done in vanquiſhing thoſe, who diſputed the Empire with him. ey ſo diſtracted his Mind with their Di- tes and Quarrels, that as long as he liv'd never knew what Religion he was of, and d an *Arian*, rather out of Neceſſity, than Choice. At firſt, indeed, he had made a ht Judgment, what manner of Men the *Chri-* Paſtors of his Time were; namely, when caus'd the prodigious Volumes of Com- ints, which the Biſhops had exhibited to n againſt each other, to be burnt; and de- iring to put an end to their Differences by Forms, accommodated them by his Au- rity. The vaſt Credit of the *Clergy* ham- 'd that Prince in innumerable Difficulties; cauſe, whatever regarded ſo formidable a Bo- was made an Affair of State, and he had tter affront the King of *Perſia*, than the Bi- op of a little paltry Town. Nevertheleſs, was yet worſe, under the Reign of his Sons. e Diviſions of the Biſhops had like to have the Two Brothers together by the Ears; *Orthodox* imploring the Protection of *Con-*

ſtant,

ſtant, againſt the *Arians* favour'd by *Conſtan*
'Tis pleaſant enough, to trace, in Hiſtory,
Journies of thoſe vagrant Biſhops, who,
content with preaching the Goſpel in t
reſpective Dioceſes, extenſive enough, at
time of day, to find 'em Work, trudg'd to
End of the World, to put all in Confuſion,
to convene Synod after Synod, who excom
nicated one another, after a moſt edifying
ner. During theſe Troubles, you will
imagine, the State received no great Aſſiſt
from its Members; and thoſe who have a
Notion of Man's Nature, will as eaſily conc
that the People, attentive on thoſe Relig
Broils, which diſtracted and tore the Em
in pieces, took no great Care of what p
upon their Frontiers. This had well-nigh
ſtor'd to *Paganiſm* the Credit it had loſt:
is there any Room to doubt, but the Ca
with which the Biſhops of all Parties embr
the Empire, induced *Julian*, whom the *P*
excited to a Rebellion againſt *Conſtantius*,
form that Deſign with leſs Fear. The *A*
thens had never been ſo daring, had the C
ſtian Paſtors been more peaceful. That *Ju*
did not ſucceed, was not the Biſhops F
who gave him free Scope. It was the W
of GOD, to aboliſh *Idolatry*; wherefore,
hinder it from re-eſtabliſhing itſelf, He w
not ſuffer that dangerous Prince to live
longer; and Providence took Care of the C
ſtian Religion, the Paſtors whereof had tu
their Miniſtry into Intrigues of Court.
End of all this, was the Fall of *Conſtanti*
Family; and ſoon after, that of the Empire.

Enterprizes of the Clergy; and Diſputes about Inveſtitures.

But when the Myſtery of Iniquity had made ittle farther Progreſs, Affairs grew ſtill worſe d worſe. There was no Part of *Chriſten-n*, but felt the diſmal Effects of the Power the *Clergy*; Nor can we read Hiſtory, with-t finding therein the inconteſtable Marks of immoderate Ambition, an inſatiable Cove-ſneſs, a barbarous Cruelty, an all-enterpri-g Boldneſs, and an Ingratitude not to be nted in the blackeſt Colours; all reigning in t powerful Body. It was the Ambition of ſe Men, that made 'em every where great rds, and, in ſome Places, Princes. Their arice made 'em neglect the Salvation of uls, to amaſs Riches and Revenues. Their uelty ſent Men to the Grave by Millions. eir Boldneſs perſuaded 'em, it was Their ſineſs to crown Kings, as if it were of Them t Princes held their Power: Nay, in ſome ces, as *Navarre*, for Inſtance, tho' the other tes of the Country took an Oath to the ngs, yet the *Clergy* diſpens'd themſelves from t Duty, and receiv'd an Oath of the Kings, preſerve their Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, thout ſo much as ſwearing Fidelity to thoſe nces. Their Ingratitude made 'em ſide, a uſand and a thouſand times, with Parties, ich oppos'd their Benefactors; when they pected to find new Advantages in the Ene-es Intereſts. 'Twould be too long, to ſet wn here the exact Proofs of all this; I ſhall ly take Notice of ſuch as bear the neareſt lation to the Fall and Ruin of States.

'Tis notorious, that the Diſpute between Emperors and the Popes, upon the Sub-t of Inveſtitures, occaſion'd the Ruin of the

Empire. The *Clergy*, who could do what th
pleas'd there, by means of the great Fiefs a
Revenues they poſſeſs'd, would no longer a
knowledge any Sovereign; and, out of a h
liſh Ingratitude, deny'd that they held th
Poſſeſſions of the very Princes who had b
ſtow'd 'em on them. For, the Inveſtiture w
nothing elſe but a Ceremony of Acknowle
ment, that they were beholden to their So
reign's Liberality, for the Temporal Eſta
annex'd to their Eccleſiaſtical Offices. We
read, in Books without Number, of the C
ſpiracies, Seditions, and Treaſons, in wh
thoſe good Prelates were concern'd, w
ſuch Troubles laſted; and with what Zeal
grave Doctors ſtigmatiz'd thoſe for *Here*
who argued in Defence of the Emperors. H
thoſe Princes been wiſe enough to hinder
Clergy from mounting to that Height of Pow
they had prevented the Ruin of their own A
thority; and the Empire, which is now
thing but a Shadow, would, perhaps, h
been Something ſtill. But the *Eaſt* was as
fortunate in that reſpect, as the *Weſt*;
Councils were held there too, in the Preſe
of the Emperors; as, among others, that wh
paſſes at *Rome*, for the Eighth *Oecumenical* C
wherein Princes are treated with as m
Haughtineſs, as if they no longer enjoy'd t
Dignities, but by the Conceſſion of the
ſhops.

Behaviour of the Clergy in Spain, *under the* Wiſigoths.

Of all the Synods which were holden
ſeveral Ages, you'll ſcarce find one, whe
the *Clergy* forgot to excommunicate ſuch
kept their Eſtates from them, and to iſſue
vere Laws againſt thoſe who might uſurp t

t on the other hand, there are a great many, erein nothing is leſs minded, than the Con- ns of Religion. This Paſſion for Temporal ings fix'd the *Clergy* continually at their nces Ears, to wreſt ſome Gratification from m. And hence it came about, that while Princes who had engaged, in *Spain*, againſt *Moors*, were puſhing their Conqueſts againſt ſe *Barbarians*, the Biſhops, who follow'd m, obliged 'em to give Them Part of the ty, and to make them Preſents of whole wns and Countries, from whence they had en the Enemy: And this, out of a Prin- e of Conſcience, to expiate the Crime of ing ſuch Rivers of Humane Blood, and tiſing all the Violences which go under Name of the *Law of War*. Thus, the Prin- took up Arms, to enrich the Biſhopricks Abbies: Nor was that all; the *Clergy*, by means, depriving the Kings of Part of r Conqueſts, did, at the ſame time, leſſen r Power, and ſtop the Courſe of their Pro- ity; which happen'd for want of Vigi- e and Fidelity in guarding ſuch Places as e in Their Poſſeſſion; inſomuch that the rs having driven them out again, the Kings e obliged to be at the Expence of retaking n. Ever ſince the Time of the *Goths*, have *Clergy* given Marks of their Perfidiouſneſs: y had the Boldneſs to aſſiſt in the Exclu- of *Bamba*, the lawful King, and, to go thro' h with their Villany, confirm'd *Euvigius*, had poiſon'd that unfortunate Prince. was it for want of Good-will in *Sigebert*, bbiſhop of *Toledo*, that *Egica* was not ſerv'd ke manner; only Affairs would not then

permit. Nevertheleſs, as thoſe good Fath
ceas'd not to embroil the State by their Co
cils, which, tho' they bore the Name of *Ec*
ſiaſtical Aſſemblies, were become altoget
Secular, they play'd their Cards ſo well, t
the Monarchy was of no long Duration; a
the *Gothick* Kings not being able to withſt
their Efforts, fell a Sacrifice to the *Sara*
Yet, notwithſtanding all this, the Reputa
of the Biſhops grew up again together w
the Petty States, which were afterwards for
in *Spain*; and their Pride went hand in h
with their Reputation. They obliged *Sa*
Ramires, King of *Navarre*, to make honour
Amends, for having made bold, upon an
gent Occaſion of State, wherein the reſt of
Subjects were unable to aſſiſt him, to ra
little Money from the *Clergy*; which is as m
as to ſay, if he expected the Aſſiſtance of
Clergy in his Neceſſity, his State, then ha
fix'd, muſt run the Riſque of falling.

A remarkable Action of the Clergy of Navarre.

FERDINAND III. took *Seville* from the *M*
and reſtor'd an Archbiſhop, who becam
great Lord, by the Reſtitution of the anc
Rights of the Biſhop, and new Grants of
Conqueror. His Gratitude, you'll ſay,
compenſated the good Office. *Alfonſo the*
Ferdinand's Son, had been elected Emp
His Delays occaſion'd another Election, w
was confirm'd by the Pope. Nevertheleſs,
fonſo would not quit his Pretenſions; and
were forced to come to Extremities. In a w
the Pope excommunicated him, if he per
in calling himſelf Emperor; And, who ſh
put that Sentence in Execution, but the A
biſhop of *Seville?* A fine Return this! fo

vour which *Ferdinand* had done for that urch. The Hiſtory of all Countries is full he like Inſtances of the good Intentions of *Clergy*.

AMONG the reſt, *England* has alſo ſuffer'd the too great Credit of her *Clergy*, while ſe adher'd to the See of *Rome*. The Quar- s of *Thomas Becket*, alias *Thomas* of *Can- bury*, with his King, are too well known, to repeated here. 'Tis notorious to all the orld, that that profligate Fellow attain'd the Degree of a *Saint*, by ſuch Rebel- ns, Ingratitude, and complicated Villa- s, as, in any Man but a Biſhop, had deſerv'd Wheel: But he obey'd the Principles of Dignity; and that's what you muſt expect m a *Clergy* animated by *Romiſh* Maxims, enever they ſhall find themſelves in a Capa- y to perplex their Sovereigns. *Actions of the Clergy in England.*

A SLIGHT Glance upon what they have, at eral times, done in *France*, will confirm the e thing. The *Clergy* were in great Credit re, under the ſecond Race of Kings, and had gun, even under the firſt, to exceed their nds. Thus, the Biſhops were then the on- Arbiters of the State; and Their Authori- influenced all its Affairs. And this conti- d, for a long while, during the Reigns of *rlemain*'s Poſterity, who could neither ag- ndize, nor maintain themſelves, but when y had the Suffrage of the Biſhops: But the t Decay of that Race muſt be attributed to ſame Cauſe. The *Clergy* had ſo great a re of the Government in the Reign of *Lewis Meek*, that it requir'd a greater Firmneſs Mind than ever that Prince was endued *In France.*

with, to diveſt 'em of it. That faithleſs Bo
dy made him paſs thro' the ſeveral Conditio
of *Excommunicate*, *Penitent*, *Reconciled*, *De
ſed*, and *Re-inſtated*; and made a meer Pla
thing of the Imperial Power, which they o
liged him to quit and reſume, juſt as their C
price ſerv'd; as tho' the Empire had been n
thing elſe, but a Commiſſion exercis'd by t
poor Prince, with the good Leave of the B
ſhops. Nor did it end there: But the Pri
ces of that Family were frequently reduc'd
far, as to yield to the Advice of the Biſho
and ſubmit to Their Judgments; inſomuch t
the Affairs of State were no longer debat
elſewhere than in the Synods. Thus alſo,
theſe latter Ages, thoſe Prelates have, up
ſeveral Occaſions, ſhewn their Cunning, wh
they have had Strength on their ſide. Th
were concern'd in the curſed League agai
Henry III. and much more ſo in that agai
Henry IV. his Succeſſor. The Pretext was goo
'Twas an Affair of Religion; and they we
afraid, that a Prince, in whoſe Dominions t
Eccleſiaſtical Revenues had been apply'd to
ther Uſes, than the Maintenance of an i
and ſeditious Order, would do the ſame Thi
in that Kingdom, the Succeſſion whereof w
fallen to him. And this was a ſufficient Re
ſon for Them to ſide with the Leaguers. B
if it be objected, that all of 'em did not follo
that Example; I anſwer, that ſo many of th
as adher'd to the Maxims of their Religion a
their Genius, join'd the Rebels; and th
Henry IV. was follow'd but by a ſmall Numb
who had other Intereſts and Deſigns in vie
And the ſame thing is remarkable on the li

Occ

caſions, where the ſame Exception may be
edg'd. If, peradventure, ſome Prelates re-
in in their Duty, yet the greater Number
ke it off; and, whereas the Fidelity of the
mer proceeds either from their perſonal
linations, or from their private Intereſts;
Villanies, Rebellions, and Factions of the
ter, are deriv'd from the natural Genius of
Order, and from the Profoundneſs of their
liticks. This is evident, in that all the Per-
s who were ever concern'd in Factions and
itions, did not fail always to put the Name
Religion at the Head of their Motives; that
o ſay, the Intereſt of their Grandeur and
ſperity. For, every body knows, that in the
nguage of the *Clergy*, *Religion* ſignifies, not
Knowledge of GOD, Acts of Piety, thoſe
Faith, or the like; but Temporal Intereſts,
Views of humane Policy, under Pretence
he Name and Service of GOD. I know
how the *Clergy* could excuſe, before equi-
le Judges, what they did to the States of
is, in the Year 1616. Theſe had reſolv'd,
provide for the Security of their Kings a-
nſt Aſſaſſinations, and to make a Law of State,
laring, that the Perſon of Kings was ſacred;
t they could neither be excommunicated,
depos'd; nor, under any Pretence what-
ver, be ſacrificed to the Fury of Parricides.
vas, indeed, reaſonable, ſome Care ſhould be
en of this. They had two Examples very
h in their Memories, of what Kings ought
ear, when they were odious, or ſuſpect, to
n of the *Clergy* as can do any thing; and
y ſaw, that a certain Sect gain'd Ground
he Kingdom, whoſe Doctrine it is, that one

Definition of Religion by the Clergy.

may lawfully undertake any thing againſt a excommunicated Prince. But, the *Clergy* d not think fit to ſecure Kings againſt their E terprizes. Thus, they oppos'd the Deſire the good Subjects; debauch'd the Nobili and even ſome of the Princes themſelves; c rupted the Council; and play'd their Cards well, that the States made no other Provi for ſecuring their Kings Perſons, than b certain fallacious Decree of the Council *Conſtance*.

Two profound Rogueries in the Policy of the Clergy.

UNDER this Policy of the *Clergy*, lur Two the profoundeſt Rogueries, that 'tis p ſible to imagine. The *firſt* was, that by m king the Safety of Kings depend upon an E cleſiaſtical Decree, rather than upon the v Laws of the Realm, and the Nature of Thi they gave their Order a Degree of Autho ty ſuperiour to that of Kings; ſince even t Lives and Safeties of theſe laſt were in Th Power, and depended upon Their Laws. T *ſecond* was, that they can evade that Dec by a Diſtinction, alledging, that the Perſ therein mention'd, are only *Kings*, and not *rants*, or thoſe who are no longer Kings. N every body knows, that, according to the D ctrine of the *Clergy*, a King is no longer a Ki when he has incurr'd the Indignation of t Pope, by whoſe Bulls he is depos'd or exco municated. So that, to enjoy the Decree the Council, a King muſt rivet himſelf in Good Graces of the Pope and his *Clergy*; elſe, he is neither ſure of his Repoſe, nor his Life.

THE *Clergy* ſeem, indeed, to have, not l ſince, atoned for that old Crime, by the ci

ion of the four Articles; but their preſent proceedings are not to be depended upon. hey are a Body, who have the Art of Temrizing, in great Perfection, and are too wiſe anagers of their Credit, to hazard it, when ey find a Counterpoiſe capable of balancing They improve the preſent Opportunity, advance themſelves, and gather Strength; t Poſterity will give them one to reward eir Benefactors according to their uſual manr. Nor let this be taken for an empty Conſture. There have already happen'd ſuch hings in the Affair of the *Regale*, as make it ſy to gueſs, what the *Clergy* will be able to o, at a more favourable Juncture. We ſee printed Speech of the late Archbiſhop of *heims*, the very Prelate who was moſt of all bliged to his Sovereign, by reaſon his Merit ad leaſt of all contributed to his Advancenent; and beſides, he was Son and Brother two Perſons, who made the greateſt Advanage of their Maſter's Favour. The Drift of hat Harangue was, to perſuade the Biſhops ſſembled for that purpoſe, that they ought, y no means, to oppoſe the Pretenſions of the Court. But of all the Reaſons which might e uſeful for his Deſign, and which might be etch'd from the main Point of the Matter itelf, he has not produced one. The only Argument he makes uſe of, is grounded on a *There's o Remedy*; *'tis the King's Pleaſure, and we muſt bey*. He ſpeaks, throughout, like a Man that miniſters Conſolation. He ſeems more deſirous o inſpire Patience, than to perſuade; and recommends Obedience for no other Reaſon, but ecauſe of the Times, in Hopes they ſhall, one day,

The preſent Sentiments of the Clergy of France.

day, recover more than they were then like to loſe. This is the Subſtance of his whole Di courſe, in which this Argument is turn'd a manner of ways. And herein you have the mo lively Character of the *Clergy*. When they obe it is by Force; but even in obeying, they reſer ſeparate Views, and are fully purpos'd to re new their Pretenſions.

Policy of the Clergy. THIS Policy of the *Clergy* is ſo well know by a Republick very famous for her Wiſdo that ſhe totally excludes that Order of Me from the Management of Affairs, and make 'em more ſenſible of their Subjection, than the are in any other Part of *Europe*; inſomuch tha by this prudent Step, ſhe has depriv'd them at once, of the ready Means of advancing an enriching themſelves, and of ſubverting th State, and raiſing themſelves upon its Ruin It is apparent, that what I have ſaid ſuffices t ſhew, that the vaſt Credit of the *Clergy* is a ill Omen for States; and that in the Place where they are the only Men who feel nothin of the Publick Miſery, it is to be fear'd, that ſooner or later, their great Proſperity will pu them upon great Enterprizes. The Reaſon which hold them in, may not laſt for ever; and we may juſtly apply, to this purpoſe, the Oracle, which, directly or indirectly, regards the Affairs of that formidable Body: *They know what with-holds them; but they only ſtay, till that ſhall be no more.* In Places, where there is but one Party that eſcapes the Miſery under which all the reſt groan, it is eaſy for the Strong to complete the Oppreſſion of the Weak. What cannot the *Clergy* do, in the Countries where the People are cruſh'd; the Nobility con-

temn'd

mn'd; the Merchants ruin'd; Juſtice bought d ſold; the Officers, who ought to execute humbled even to the Duſt; the Financiers hauſted; and all Men malecontent? There's thing wanting, but a feeble Government, or Minority, to turn a great State into a Fief the Church, or, at leaſt, into a Fief of the licy of that domineering Party.

Of the Monks, and particularly, of the Jeſuites.

But if this Preſage is not yet ſufficiently plain'd, we may add one Conſideration more. is, that if the Authority of the *Clergy* has en dangerous to States, from the very Foun- tion of their Grandeur; 'tis become much ore formidable, ſince the *Monks*, leaving the umber of the Laity, of whom they formerly ade a Part, enter'd into the Society, and ar'd the Privileges of that imperious Order: t it is grown much more dangerous and fa- l yet, ſince the *Jeſuites* came into the World. hat black Society, the laſt Scourge, with hich GOD, in his Anger, can viſit the Cor- ption and Iniquity of Man; or, if you pleaſe, e laſt Reſſource of Hell, to hinder Juſtice d Truth from re-eſtabliſhing themſelves up- Earth; that Society, I ſay, have given the reſage an Evidence which paſſes Conjecture. hey have carry'd Deſolation into all the Parts the World, where-ever they have had the ower. *France* has found this by Experience; well during the League, wherein thoſe per- dious Villains were the Managers of her Ruin; in the Enterprizes which they directed, and, laſt, executed againſt one of the moſt famous her Kings. She ſees ſomething of it even this day, in the Condition ſhe is reduced to, the Deſertion of ſuch a prodigious Number of

of Families; and the Tears and Groans of
many others; the Effect of the Politicks
that cruel Society. Nor has their Favouri
Spain met with better Treatment from the
That Society were obſerv'd, from their ve
Infancy, to aim at their own Grandeur, und
Pretence of aggrandizing the reigning Fam
ly; and had a great Share in the Enterpriz
under which *Philip* II. ſuccomb'd. They ma
up their Mouths, and eſtabliſh'd themſelv
every where, at the Expence of that Mona
chy. How much does it concern Them, eve
at this day, that *Hungary* has, for ſo ma
Years, been the Theater of dreadful Wars a
Revolutions? Peace might have been mai
tain'd in that Kingdom, by performing t
Promiſes, ſo often made and repeated, as we
by Word of Mouth, as by Edicts, to preſer
the Privileges of the Kingdom, and Liberty
Conſcience. But the *Jeſuites* had got nothi
there, if thoſe equitable Maxims had been pu
ſued; ſince thereby they had been depriv'd
the Confiſcated Eſtates of the *Hereticks*, whi
have been granted them. It conduced more t
Their Intereſt, to ravage that fine Countr
with Fire and Sword; to unpeople it by War
Maſſacres, and Executions; to turn it into
Wilderneſs by the Arms of Malecontents
Turks, and Imperialiſts; and to reduce it un
der the Obedience of its old Maſter, in a Con
dition which will cauſe him more Troubl
and Damage, than Thirty Years Profit an
Revenue will make good: This, I ſay, wa
much better, than to ſuffer Peace and Plen
ty to reign there, to the great Grief of th
Jeſuites. Every body knows, what Servic
the

ney render'd to *Sigiſmund* of *Sweden*, and
Demetrius of *Muſcovy*. Thoſe poor Prin-
es were ſacrificed to the Intereſts of theſe
nemies to Mankind, whoſe impatient Poli-
cks will not ſo much as allow Time for ripen-
g their Deſigns. They muſt puſh Things
ome, at all Seaſons, as ſoon as Intereſt advi-
es 'em to undertake them. The moſt that it
an coſt 'em, is the Life or Repoſe of the
rinces who favour them; and that appears
o them ſo inconſiderable a Matter, that to
ave it, they will not ſo much as conſent to
Delay of a few Years. But why all this Ado?
overeigns are too happy, in being the Victims
f the Riſe of that Society; and it is ſtill no
ittle Honour for Crown'd Heads, that this
nſcription may be engraven on their Tombs;
Here lies a Prince ſacrificed to the Policy of the Jeſuites. If any of thoſe whom Providence
as ſet upon the Throne, knows himſelf to be
ow engaged with them in the like Enterpri-
es, it behoves him to take particular Care,
nd hinder, if poſſible, the Precipitation of
hoſe Men, (for whom Kings are baſe Animals,
nd not worth the Sparing) from making him
ay the Expence of all their Whimſies.

Four uſeful Reflexions. The firſt.

It may not be amiſs, to add, in this place, four uſeful Reflexions. The firſt is, that each Thing, conſider'd in itſelf, is ſufficient to preſage the Revolutions of Governments; but the Strength of its Signification becomes ſtill greater, when there is a Concurrence of ſeveral; or rather, when ſeveral appear united together. When we obſerve a great Empire, which has long enjoy'd an almoſt-uniform Proſperity, the Interruptions whereof have been ſo many Occaſions

caſions of advancing it; wherein reign all t
Vices, which can draw down GOD's Veng
ance, and Man's Indignation; whoſe Peop
are oppreſs'd; whoſe Neighbours alarm'
where Authority knows no Bounds, but rai
itſelf up even to Omnipotence; where Flatt
ry is in Vogue, and carry'd to ſuch Extrem
ties, as was never parallel'd; where Perſec
tion paſſes for a Thing not only lawful, b
even for a neceſſary Maxim of State, and a n
ceſſary Duty of Religion; where Idolatry a
Superſtition are arriv'd to dreadful Exceſſe
where the Clergy lord it as they pleaſe; a
where the *Jeſuites* preſide in all the Council
to the general Diſſatisfaction of the other O
ders: When, I ſay, all theſe are remarkabl
what ſhould hinder us from believing, th
Things tend to a great Revolution? If ther
be a State in *Europe*, in which this Charact
appears, all the others expect to ſee a Chang
thereof; and, indeed, moſt of 'em will not b
ſorry to contribute towards it.

Second Reflexion. THE *ſecond* Reflexion is, that 'tis certain
moſt Part of *Europe* are poſſeſs'd with the Do
ctrine of Perſecution; inſomuch that we ever
where obſerve, either the Effect, or Deſire, o
forcing Mens Conſciences. There be Places
where this is publickly exercis'd; others, where
the Deſign is cloak'd under goodly Appearan
ces. There be Places, where, tho' Men hav
nothing of the Lamb, but the Weapons Na
ture has furniſh'd them withal; yet they roa
aloud, like the Dragon. Others there are
where, tho' Men have nothing of the Dragon
but the Heart; yet they ſpeak like the Lamb
But the ſame Deſigns are couch'd under diffe-
renc

t Expreſſions; and if, in ſome Countries, Religion, which would down with all the t, openly employs, for that end, the For- ſhe has long poſſeſs'd therein; in others, ere ſhe is not able to undertake greater En- prizes, ſhe is content, as yet, with being erated. In the firſt, ſhe is adult, and arriv'd her full Strength: In the others, ſhe is, as were, growing, and has not yet attain'd to Perfection of a robuſt Age. The Lions are t born fierce, but become ſo with Time. hile they are yet young, they are eaſily n'd; They are then taught to caper and y Tricks, and are the Amuſement and Di- rſion of their Maſters. Men ſuffer them fear- s to play with the Lambs, nor conceive the ſt Jealouſy of their Teeth or Claws. But, en Age has furniſh'd them with Strength, ey remember, that they are Lions, and, if fer'd, ſoon make that their Prey, which was fore their Play-fellow. Juſt ſo, the Religion, ich cannot bear with any others, does but ay, in the Places where ſhe has a mind to in- oduce herſelf. She is but a young Lion, whoſe eakneſs conceals her Fury, and whoſe utmoſt emands are, only the Liberty of playing with e Lambs: And if, by Chance, ſhe bites or atches them, it is but in Jeſt. But Strength ll come with Age; and the Lion will then deavour to devour the Flock, which, till en, had ſerv'd for no other end, than to di- rt her. If any one finds himſelf concern'd, t him beware. I ſhall only add, in this Place, at ſince the Spirit of Perſecution ſeems to generally diffus'd in ſo many Parts of *Eu- pe*, 'tis apparent, that the Preſage I infer from

A pretty Compariſon.

from it, is too general, to threaten one St
more than another, with an approaching F
But I obſerve, beſides, that there is, perhaps
Nation, which inſpires that Spirit into all t
reſt; and which, having an Intereſt in cutti
out Work for others at home, becauſe th
would not be moleſted in their own Ent
prizes, ſo orders it, by ſecret Intrigues, th
Perſecution is every where in Vogue. T
Thing is well enough contriv'd, to evince, th
the Sages of the World rightly underſtood
There is not a more effectual Method to hin
Princes from carrying the War into Fore
Parts, than to hamper them with their S
jects Conſciences at home. 'Tis moſt certa
that all the Meaſures of their Ambition
thereby broken; and that they have too m
Reaſon to ſuſpect Troubles within, to dare
undertake any thing without. Nay, 'tis
parent, that even thoſe whoſe Proſperity m
all Chriſtendom tremble, gave Bounds to th
own Good-Fortune, when they began this D
meſtick Ravage at home. They are leſs fe
elſewhere; are not ſo daring on their own pa
and find leſs Facility or Safety in their Ent
prizes. Whoever, therefore, is the Auth
directly or indirectly, of all the Perſecuti
which are exercis'd, or meditated, in *Eur*
you may reſt aſſur'd, he is the very Per
whom the Preſage concerns. But if this be
the Caſe, and every one perſecutes at ho
out of his own Inclination, what ſhould h
der Providence from ſetting them together
the Ears, to the end they may be a Puniſhm
to one another, and mutually execute GO
Judgments one againſt the other?

T

THE *third* Reflexion is, that we ſometimes ribute the ſame Event to different Cauſes; for Inſtance, the Fall of the Race of *Charle-n*, to their great Proſperity; to their vio-t Methods of planting *Chriſtianity*; to the eſſive Power of the *Clergy*; and ſo of the . But this ought not to ſeem ſtrange. It very natural for divers Cauſes to concur in Production of one great Effect; and eſpe-ly, when the Cauſes are link'd together, are reciprocally the Inſtrument or Occa-one of the other. Moreover, when we are mining into the Cauſes of GOD's Judg-nts, we muſt always look upon 'em as com-cated. GOD has reveal'd himſelf to us with Properties, that when he deals his Fa-rs, he grants them to the firſt Actions of n, which have Marks of Juſtice and Ver-: But in pouring forth his Vengeance, the mes, which draw it down, muſt be re-bled; becauſe, taking a Delight in doing d, He is excited to it, by the leaſt Effort iety. For, He never proceeds to the Pu-iment of the Guilty, but with Regret; as he Acts of ſevere Juſtice coſt Him more thoſe of Mercy. *Third Re-flexion.*

THE *fourth* Reflexion is deſign'd for thoſe, m the Preſages will confirm, perhaps, in Hope of an approaching Deliverance of Church. I would, by no means, deprive of the Conſolation of Hope; nor, indeed, in my Power, were I cruel enough to de-it. Men naturally hope, even beyond all e. But all this while, I muſt needs tell it does not follow, that becauſe thoſe perſecute the Church muſt be puniſh'd, *Fourth Re-flexion.*

therefore the Church muſt be deliver'd. It does not appear, that *Chriſtianity* immediately flouriſhes again, in all Places, whence the *Saracens* or *Ottomans* are expell'd. On the contrary, if there be any Men deliver'd from Superſtition and Errour, in the Places reduced by other *Chriſtians*, they only change the Object of their Fear; and no ſooner do they defy the Oppreſſions of the *Turk*, but they begin to tremble for their Conſciences. 'Twould be an eaſy Matter, to back this Obſervation with ancient and modern Examples; But I ſhall only add, that as the Decay of States ſeldom happens, but by one of thoſe Scourges, which are commonly call'd GOD's Scourges; and eſpecially, by Wars and Diſorders of Government; I cannot conceive, how the Church ſhould find her Peace in Troubles of that Nature. I know very well, that 'tis ſaid, GOD ſav'd the Church of *Jeruſalem*, before that City was beſieged, and that He maintain'd her in Peace in a little paltry Town, while the reſt of *Judea* was laid waſte by Soldiers. I will not diſpute the Story which may be laid upon the *'Tis ſaid* of Hiſtorians as credulous as *Euſebius*; but believe that GOD can do as much at this day; and that his Providence may have prepar'd three or four *Pellas* for one, in order there to ſecure his Church from ſuch Violences: But there is none but the Church, which is retir'd to *Pella*, will be able to enjoy that Repoſe. The Taking of *Jeruſalem* was no leſs than the Triumph of *Chriſtianity*: Yet, ten or twelve Years after *Domitian*, who was not much better than *Nero*, convinced the Church, that the Day of her Deliverance was not yet come. Moreover,

y one, tho' Faithful in Heart, was reſolute ſtaying at *Jeruſalem*, after the Retreat of Brethren, I believe he was ſwallow'd up in Deſtruction of his Nation. And the ſame ing may happen to thoſe, who ſhall be ſtill nd in the Places, where GOD's Vengeance y, one day, alight. The ſame Lightning ich ſhall ſcorch their Neighbours, may, at ſt, ſinge Their Garments. I cannot figure myſelf Miracles, which ſhall ſecure, from age and Plunder, the Houſes of the good n, that ſhall be ſhut up with the Wicked, a Town taken by Aſſault; Neither does it ear, that, in paſt Wars, there were many Deliverances known. When GOD was as'd to ſave any one, he made him leave the es which were threatned with his Venge-e; and ſuch as would not go out, periſh'd h the Wicked within. We have Examples this, in the Eſcape of *Noah*, in the Time of Flood; and in that of *Lot*, when *Sodom* was roy'd with Fire and Brimſtone.

Againſt the Flatterers who beſiege a Prince.

A JUDICIOUS and illuſtrious Prelate, who an Enemy to the Vice and Corruption of nners which reign'd in his Court, has ob-'d, that Princes are, for the moſt part, un-unately expos'd; and that the Wiſeſt a-ng them are often ſurpriz'd, by the ſly, -intereſted Men, who are about their Per-s. Hence it comes to paſs, that Good Men, o can neither flatter, nor put themſelves ward, retire; and Princes know not how ring 'em back to Court. But the Perſons, o occaſion their Retreat, are bold, deceit-eager to pleaſe, and inſinuate themſelves; terous in diſſembling; and ready to do any

thing againſt Honour and Conſcience, ſo
does but ſooth their own and the Prince's Pa
ſions. A Prince thus expos'd to the Artifi
of wicked Men, is ruin'd to all Intents a
Purpoſes, if he has not the Wit to repel th
Flattery, and ſide with thoſe, who dare t
him the Truth with Boldneſs. We have und
niable Inſtances of this, in the Miniſtry of t
Two Cardinals *de Richelieu* and *Mazarin*, w
govern'd *France* in ſo wretched a manner, th
they not only ſet the Kingdom in a Flame, b
even divided the Royal Family, by their V
nity, and private Intereſt; Nor could the Kin
they ſerv'd, by any means, diſcern their ow
A King is not worthy to command, nor ha
py in his Authority, but ſo far as he kno
how to ſubmit to *Reaſon:* And what a Misfo
tune is it, for a Perſon, cut out for the Publi
Good, to be Maſter of ſo many Men, only
make 'em miſerable? Men are deluded by t
Pleaſures of Senſe, and the Charms of Fa
cy. There are no true ones, but ſuch as co
ſult, and love, and are guided by this imm
tal Reaſon. 'Tis That, which inſpires us, wh
we think aright; 'tis That which checks
when we think amiſs. It is like a vaſt Oce
of Light; and our Minds as little Rivers, whi
flow from it, and return to it, there to l
themſelves.

Of Ambition and Covetouſneſs.

MENS Avarice and Ambition are the o
Fountain of all their Misfortunes. They wo
willingly have All; and render themſelves u
happy, by coveting Superfluities. Did th
confine their Deſires to *Living* only, and co
tent themſelves with ſatisfying their *Wants*,
ſho

ould every where ſee Plenty, and Joy, and nity, and Peace.

THIS Queſtion has been often handled; to- it, Wherein does true Liberty conſiſt? Some y, it is in a King, who has an abſolute Au- ority over his Subjects, and obtains the Vi- ory over all his Enemies. Others affirm, that belongs to the Man, who does not marry, t ſpends his Life in travelling, without be- ſubject to the Laws of any Nation. Others ncy, the *Barbarian* has it, who, living upon hat he catches by hunting in the Woods, is dependent of all Government, and knows no ant. Others, again, that it is in a Man juſt franchis'd, becauſe, being deliver'd from the gours of Servitude, he enjoys a greater Mea- re of the Sweets of Liberty, than other Men . Laſtly, there be who aſſert, that it is on- the Dying Man's Property, becauſe Death es him from every thing, and all the Men in e World have then no Power over him. But s more likely, that the freeſt Man in the orld is He that can be free in Slavery, in y Country or Condition whatſoever. A Man very free, provided he fears GOD, and fears ne but Him alone. In a word, the Man tru- free, is He, who, being diſengag'd from all ar and Deſire, is ſubject to none but GOD, d his Reaſon. *Wherein true Liberty conſiſts.*

ANOTHER Queſtion is, Who is the moſt nhappy of Men? One ſays, 'tis he that has ither Wealth, nor Health, nor Honour. nother, that 'tis one that has no Friends. A ird, that 'tis the Man who has ungrateful d unworthy Children. A fourth, that 'tis he o believes himſelf ſo to be; becauſe Un- *Who is the moſt unhappy of Men.*

happineſs depends not ſo much on the Hard-ſhips we undergo, as on the Impatience with which we enhance our Miſery. But the moſt unhappy of all Men is, a King, who thinks himſelf happy in making other Men miſerable. He is doubly unhappy for his Blindneſs ſince, as he is not ſenſible of his Unhappineſs he can never conquer it, but is even afraid to be made ſenſible of it. Truth can never force its way to him thro' that thick Crowd of Flatterers which ſurround him; He is enſlav'd by his Paſſions, and knows none of his Duties; He has never taſted the Pleaſure of doing Good, nor felt the Charms of pure Vertue. He is unhappy, and deſerves ſo to be. His Unhappineſs increaſes daily. He runs headlong to his Ruin; and GOD is preparing to confound him by an eternal Puniſhment.

Beauty is very dangerous.

GROSS Vice ſtrikes with Horrour; and brutiſh Impudence inſpires Indignation; but Beauty, join'd with Modeſty, is much more dangerous. In loving, Men fancy they love nothing but Vertue; while they ſuffer themſelves to fall inſenſibly into the deluding Snare of a Paſſion, which they perceive not, till 'tis almoſt too late to conquer it. Vertue has nothing of Severe or Affected; 'Tis That, which affords ſolid Pleaſures; That alone knows how to temper 'em, and make 'em pure and laſting. That knows how to blend Sports and Paſtime with Things Grave and Serious; That ſweetens Recreation by Work, and ſoftens Work by Recreation. Wiſdom is not aſham'd to appear gay, when it is convenient.

Of Peace.

GOD, who is a Lover of the Men he has form'd, is pleas'd to be, himſelf, the Bond of

their

their perfect Unity and Concord. The whole Race of Mankind is but one Family, diſpers'd over the Face of the whole Earth; ſo that all the People are Brethren, and ought to love one another as ſuch. Wo to thoſe impious Wretches, therefore, who ſeek a cruel Glory in the Blood of their Brethren, which is their own Blood! *War* is ſometimes neceſſary; but yet 'tis the Shame of Mankind, that it cannot be avoided upon certain Occaſions. Kings muſt not think to ſay, that it ought to be deſired for the Attainment of Glory; ſince true Glory never appears without Humanity. Whoever, therefore, prefers his own Glory, to the Sentiments of Humanity, is a Monſter of Pride, and not a Man: Neither will he ever acquire any other than a falſe Glory, ſince true Glory is never found but in Moderation and Goodneſs. Men may flatter him, to ſooth his fooliſh Vanity; but if they are ſincere, they always ſay, in private, that he has not ſo properly purchas'd Glory, as unjuſtly and paſſionately deſired it. They are not bound to eſteem Him; by reaſon he himſelf has ſo little valued Them, and laviſh'd their Blood, out of a brutiſh Vanity. But happy is the King, who loves his People, and is beloved by them; who confides in his Neighbours, and theſe have a mutual Confidence in Him; who, far from making War upon 'em, hinders 'em from having it among themſelves, and who makes all Foreign Nations envy the Happineſs of His Subjects! Happy are the Men, without Ambition, without Artifice, and without Diffidence; if GOD vouchſafes 'em but a good King, who interrupts not their in-

Mirth! But what horrid Inhumanity! to r
them, for Deſigns of meer Pride and Amb
tion, of the kindly Fruits of the Earth, whi
they hold of Nature's Bounty only, and of t
Sweat of their Brows! The fruitful Womb
Nature would alone furniſh all Things neceſſ
ry for an infinite Number of moderate and l
borious Men; But the Pride and Effemina
of ſome Perſons, are the ſole Occaſion of t
extreme Poverty of ſo many others.

Of War. THE Miſchiefs of *War* always drain a Stat
and expoſe it to the Danger of periſhing,
the very time that it gains the completeſt V
ctories. If your Advantages are never ſo gl
rious in the Beginning, you are not ſure of co
cluding, without being expos'd to the moſt t
gical Strokes of Fortune. Give Battle with
ver ſo great a Superiority; yet the leaſt fal
Step, a Terrour, a Nothing, ſnatches Victor
already in your Hands, and gives it to yo
Enemy. Nay, tho' you keep Victory, as if
were chain'd in your Camp; yet you deſtr
yourſelf, in deſtroying your Enemy. Yo
Country's unpeopled; your Land not half c
tivated; your Commerce diſturb'd; and, whi
is ſtill worſe, your wholſomeſt Laws are ene
vated; and ſo, there is a general Corrupti
of Manners. Your young Men no longer a
dict themſelves to Learning; urgent Neceſſi
makes you bear with a grievous Licentio
neſs among the Troops; Juſtice, Polity, eve
thing, ſuffers by this Diſorder. A King th
ſpills the Blood of ſo many Men, and occaſio
ſuch dire Miſchiefs, for the ſake of a litt
Glory, or to extend the Limits of his Kin
dom, is unworthy the Glory he hunts for, a

ſerves to loſe what he has, for endeavouring uſurp that which does not belong to him. *ere are but few Kings, who know how to ſeek e Glory, and go not very wide on't. They run er a deceitful Shadow, and leave true Honour ind 'em, for want of knowing it. There are e but great Souls, who know the Glory there in being good. We ſhould always remember Frailty of humane Affairs; A Man in Pro-rity ought to be afraid to abuſe it.*

WE muſt not attack Mens Paſſions, to re-ce them to Reaſon, till thoſe Paſſions begin droop with a kind of Laſſitude.

Of old-Age.

WHEN a Man is old, he has nothing left of pple; Long Habit then keeps him, as it ere, in Chains, and he can no longer apply emedies to his numerous Defects; Like a ree, whoſe rugged, knotty Trunk, is grown rd with many Years, and can never more re-me its former Smoothneſs. Nay, when Men e arriv'd at a certain Age, they can ſcarce nd themſelves, any longer, againſt ſome Ha-ts, which are grown old with them, and ve even penetrated into the Marrow of their ones. Oftentimes they know them; but too te: They then ſigh in vain; for tender outh is the only Age wherein a Man can do ery thing to correct himſelf.

Of the Diſorders of War.

'TIS impoſſible for us to reflect too much the Miſeries which *War* brings along with it. what a blind Fury are unhappy Mortals ted? So ſmall is the Number of Days they ve to live upon the Earth, and ſo full of iſery are thoſe few Days, that it is ſurpri-ng, why they ſhould haſten a Death already near! Why add ſo many horrid Deſolations

to

to the Calamities with which Heaven has e
bitter'd a Life ſo ſhort! All Men are B
thren; and yet they devour one another, m
cruel than the ſavage Beaſts of the Field. L
ons never fight againſt Lions, nor Tigers
gainſt Tigers; they attack none but Anim
of a different kind. Man alone, in ſpite of
Reaſon, does that which Creatures void of Re
ſon never did. But why all theſe Wars, I pra
Is there not Ground enough in the Univer
to give all Men more than they can cultivat
How much is there, which lies deſart? Mo
certainly, than all Mankind can fill. Wh
then! Does a vain Idea of Glory, a Title
Conqueror, which a Prince would fain acqui
kindle Wars in immenſe Countries? Such
Man, given by GOD, in his Wrath, for
Scourge to the World, makes ſo many oth
miſerable, to ſatisfy his Glory, and his Vani
All muſt go to Rack, all ſwim in Blood, all
devour'd by Flames; or, whatever eſca
Fire and Sword, muſt periſh with Hunger
more cruel. In a word, one Man alone m
play with humane Nature, and make a gene
Deſolation, for his *Pleaſure*, and his *Glory*.

Conſequence of the Glory gain'd by War.

WHAT monſtrous Glory! Can one t
much abhor and deſpiſe the Men, who h
ſo far forgotten Humanity? Far from bei
Demi-Gods, they are not ſo much as M
They ought to be deteſted by all Ages, inſte
of being admir'd, as they flatter themſelv
How cautious ought Princes to be, of eng
ging in Wars? They ought to be juſt; B
that is not ſufficient, They muſt be neceſſa
too. The Blood of the People ought not
be ſpilt, only to ſave the ſame People up
ext

traordinary Occaſions. But flattering Coun-
s, a falſe Idea of Grandeur, vain Jealouſies,
d an inſatiable Greedineſs, diſguis'd under
cious Pretences, engage Kings inſenſibly in
ars, which render them unhappy, make 'em
zard all without Occaſion, and prove as de-
uctive to their own Subjects, as to their Ene-
es.

Of Phyſick.

'Tis for want of Courage and Vertue, that
n have ſo frequent Occaſion for the Aſſi-
nce of *Phyſick*. It is their Shame, that they
afflicted with ſuch numerous Diſtempers;
, Good Manners bring forth Health. Their
emperance changes the Nouriſhment de-
n'd for the Preſervation of Life, into dead-
Poiſon. Immoderate Pleaſures ſhorten Mens
ves, more than Remedies are able to pro-
g them. The Poor are not ſo often ſick,
want of Nouriſhment, as the Rich are, for
ing too much on't. The Meats which are
ſt agreeable to the Palate, and make Peo-
eat more than they need, poiſon, inſtead
nouriſhing. Nay, the very Remedies are
l Evils, which deſtroy Nature, and ought
er to be us'd, but upon the moſt urgent
caſions. The great Remedy, which is al-
ys innocent, and always does Good, is *So-
ty*, Temperance in all kinds of Pleaſures,
anquillity of Mind, and Exerciſe of the Bo-
By theſe, Men make their Blood ſweet
l temperate, and diſſipate all ſuperfluous
mours. And thus the wiſe *Nozofugius* was
admired for his Remedies, than for the
gimen which he advis'd, for the Prevent-
of Diſeaſes, and rendring Remedies uſe-
.

Of Ingrates, Lyers, Flatterers, &c.

THERE be certain Perſons in the Wor whom the Vulgar don't reckon very much Fault, but who are unmercifully proſecut with the Divine Vengeance. Such are *Ingra Lyers*, *Flatterers*, and malicious *Criticks*, w have made it their Buſineſs to ſtain the cle eſt Vertue, judg'd raſhly of Things they kn nothing of, and thereby ſully'd the Repu tion of the Innocent. But of all the ſeve kinds of Ingratitude, that which Men are gu ty of againſt GOD, deſerves to be puniſh'd the blackeſt. A Man who is ungrateful to Father, or his Friend, that has any wiſe aſſiſted him, is reckon'd a Monſter; And Men take a Pride in being ungrateful towa GOD, of whom they hold their Lives, and the Bleſſings thereof. Are we not more holden to Him for our Birth, than to the w Fathers who begot us? *By how much m Crimes go unpuniſh'd and excus'd upon Ea by ſo much more do they become the Object an implacable Vengeance in Hell, which there no avoiding.*

Of the Unfaithfulneſs of Hiſtorians.

THE *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians appear us full of an exceſſive Indulgence for th own Nations, and pardon nothing in othe by reaſon their Ideas of Juſtice and Human were not extenſive enough, and they knew n that all Men are Equal, with reſpect to Law of Nature. *Ceſar* had no more Right make War upon the *Gauls* and *Germans*, th the Pyrates of *Cilicia* had to take *Ceſar* P ſoner, and ranſom him. Nevertheleſs, th Pyrates are mention'd with Deteſtation, w infinite Applauſes are given to *Ceſar*'s Vi ries.

Vid. Plutarch. in vita ejus.

CHRISTIA

CHRISTIANS ought not to imitate the *Hea-*
s, as being taught by the Goſpel, that all
n are Brethren, and bound by the ſame
ws one towards another, by the Law of Na-
e iſſuing from GOD, who is the Common
ther of all Mankind. Mean time, when they
ak of *Chriſtians* and *Turks*, it often appears,
t the former are of the wicked Principle of
Manichees, and that they are not obliged
reat with Humanity, unleſs when they can't
Miſchief with Impunity; But on the con-
ry, the *Turks* are obliged to obſerve all the
ws of Juſtice towards the *Chriſtians*, as if
y were the only Creatures of good Princi-
s. Nor are the *Turks*, on their ſide, more
ſonable towards the *Chriſtians*; but theſe
, as better learnt, ought to be wiſer and
re humane. When they mention the Cru-
of the Knights of *Maltha* upon the *Turks*,
y ought to make uſe of the ſame Expreſ-
ns, as when they ſpeak of thoſe of the Py-
es of *Barbary* upon the *Chriſtians:* On the
trary, when thoſe of *Algiers* or *Tunis* have
en a Prize from the *Chriſtians*, how is every
rt of *Chriſtendom* fill'd with Sighs and Groans?
w ſwell'd with Joy, when the Knights of
ltha have taken a *Turkiſh* Veſſel? *There is*
Puniſhment, but the Robberies of the Turkiſh
ates, committed upon the Chriſtians, *deſerve.*
re is no Praiſe, but the Robberies of the
ights of Maltha, *upon the* Mahometans, *are*
thy of.

Ne alteri feceris, quod tibi fieri non vis.

IF the *Turks* endeavour'd to pervert the
riſtians which are in their Territories, by
wards or Puniſhments, by giving Money to
h as would take the *Turban*, and by abu-
ſing

Worſe has been done in Spain and France.

ſing ſuch as remain'd conſtant in the *Chriſtian* Religion, what would Men ſtick to of 'em? What Clamours ſhould we hear gainſt 'em, all *Chriſtendom* over? But if *Mahometans*, tired with the Firmneſs of *Chriſtians* who obey them, drove them, all once, from the Places of their Abode, obliged them to fly the *Grand Seignior*'s Territories; Should we, I ſay, ſee *Chriſtendom* fi with *Greek* Refugees; How would *Mahometan* Tyranny be every where curs'd? H would every one's Mouth be fill'd with th Injuſtice? And Reaſon good, indeed; fi there is no Authority in the World, wh has a Right to impoſe a certain Religion any Man whatſoever, or to abuſe ſuch as of another Sentiment in that Affair.

See his Life by Monſ. Flechier, Book 1.

But when Cardinal *Ximenes* converted *Moors* of *Grenada*, holding a Purſe in one ha and Chains in the other; 'tis pretended, t the *Moors* were in the wrong for complai thereof. That which is an execrable Act in a *Mufti*, or an *Alfaqui*, becomes a meri rious Work, when it is done by a *Chriſti* Clergyman, tho' he can produce no Pow from Heaven, which authorizes him to tr the *Mahometans* in a Manner, which cann with Juſtice, be us'd againſt the *Chriſtians*. what Revelation do we know, that GOD given *Chriſtians* certain Rules of Juſtice, quite different Laws to other People? my part, I muſt confeſs, I do not know it.

But if it be objected, that *Truth* has Right over *Falſhood*, that it may, with Juſti uſe thoſe ill, who are in an Errour, by me of ſuch as are in the Sentiments of Truth; anſw

wer Two Things. 1. Men are ſtill in Di-
te about what is true, and what is falſe.
e *Mahometans*, for Inſtance, are as obſti-
e in their Opinions, as the *Chriſtians* can
perſuaded of theirs. If you, therefore, ar-
, that Truth has a Right to abuſe Er-
r, you put a Sword into their Hand, and
not complain of their Perſecutions; for,
r all, ſo long as they are wedded to *Ma-*
etiſm, it is a neceſſary Conſequence, that
y believe they have a Right to perſecute
Chriſtians. 2. But even ſuppoſing, that
ſe are perſecuted, whom I ſhould judge to
in an Errour, I would nevertheleſs main-
, that *Errour* is not a *Crime*, when thoſe,
o are blinded by it, obſerve, in all other
ects, the Laws of Civil Society, and are
puniſhable for any ill Manners. Thus,
re is no Power, which has a Right to a-
the Subjects, under Pretence of Errour
Religion; as there is none, which can pu-
a Mathematician for being miſtaken in a
culation.

ENCE it follows, that Hiſtorians, who
ht to form their Judgments upon undeni-
Truths, and ſuch as are generally receiv'd,
ld ſpeak with Indignation of the Conduct
Cardinal *Ximenes*, and the Catholick Kings,
ards the *Moors*, inſtead of approving, or
iating it, as ſome of them have done. They
up *Ximenes* and thoſe Kings, for Lovers of
ice, at the ſame time that they make them
mit a crying Injuſtice, againſt ſeveral Thou-
ds of *Moors*, by perſecuting them, and ex-
ing 'em their Country, becauſe they would
turn *Chriſtians*. Had the *Moors*, who liv'd

South

South of the Streights of *Gibraltar*, done t
ſame thing by the *Chriſtians* who dwelt amo
them, what lamentable Deſcriptions wo
the *Spaniſh* Writers have given us of it?

Nor is it only with reſpect to the *Infid*
that Men uſe a kind of Juſtice, which is ne
good, but where they are ſtrongeſt; It is e
exercis'd by *Chriſtian* againſt *Chriſtian*, towa
ſuch as are ſtigmatiz'd with the odious Na
of *Heretioks*. The Hiſtorians of each Par
prepoſſeſs'd with this ſtrange Notion, ſc
dalouſly extol the Juſtice of Princes, who u
violent Methods to cruſh ſuch as were not
their Sentiments, and exclaim, without R
ſon, againſt the contrary Party, for doing
very ſame thing. We muſt either conde
all ſuch as perſecute for Opinions, or abſo
them all alike.

When the *Arian* Biſhops and Prieſts w
depos'd, and ſent into Baniſhment; and
People, who follow'd 'em, were abus'd,
their Churches taken from them; This wa
fair, and not a Syllable of the Compla
they utter'd againſt ſuch ill Uſage, nor
the odious Circumſtances which might h
been related upon that Head. But when
Arians made Repriſals upon the Biſhop
Alexandria, and ſome others, and endeavo
to cruſh their Party; This was a dreadful S
verſion of Juſtice, and the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*
Reaſon to ſtir themſelves, and oblige the E
peror *Conſtantius* to re-eſtabliſh them. For
part, I cannot endure the Whimſies of
Arians, concerning their Three unequal G
nor excuſe the Violence of their Condu
But, no more can I conceive, how ſuch,
w

re ſubject to Error, as well as They; and
d, indeed, err, if they believ'd Three Colla-
al *Gods*, as they are accus'd; I cannot, I ſay,
nceive, how they could complain of Their
ſecutions, after they themſelves had perſe-
ed Them. 'Tis juſt the ſame thing, with re-
ct to the other *Hereticks*, who abus'd the
hodox, when they were Uppermoſt; and
re abus'd by them, when they were Under-
ſt.

As, therefore, that is call'd *Truth*, which re-
ts from the Majority of Voices; ſo is that
m'd *Juſtice*, which the ſtrongeſt Party does.
ch as are of the Few, have never any thing
their ſide, but *Errour* and *Injuſtice*.

Irregular Judgments againſt good Morals.

SEVERAL other Things might be ſaid of the
ſemblies, wherein Men have often trampled
der Foot the Rules of Equity, which the Ci-
Laws ſo wiſely preſcribe. Thoſe who con-
mn'd the Perſons they call'd *Hereticks*, very
en deny'd them the Liberty of defending
mſelves, and were compos'd of Men, who
re, undoubtedly, *Judge* and *Party*. Never-
leſs, moſt Hiſtorians applaud, and ſpeak of
m, with an extraordinary Reſpect. Thus,
at would have been call'd *Injuſtice*, *Cabal*,
Oppreſſion, in a Court of Juſtice, paſſes, in
Councils, for *Juſtice*, *Zeal*, and *Equity*. We
ſt, therefore, remember, that thoſe Words
e a quite different Signification with Church-
ſtorians, to what they have with other Wri-
s. And how comes that about? but be-
ſe the Penmen of Church-Hiſtory have not,
mmonly, a juſt and exact Idea of *Vice* and
rtue.

Others againſt Policy.

But if Men ſo highly offend againſt t
Ideas of Morality; no leſs do they agai
thoſe of Policy, concerning the reciprocal D
ties of the People and thoſe who govern the
and the Obligations of one Nation towa
another. To this all Policy may be reduc
which is nothing elſe, but *the Art of rend*
a People happy, by governing them with Juſ
and defending them againſt the Wrong, w
might be done them by their Enemies.

General Principles of Policy.

The general Principles of Policy are th
1. That ſuch as govern the People, ought
propoſe to themſelves the Happineſs of th
who are committed to their Charge, as th
chief End. This comprehends all the Du
of ſuch as are at the Head of Society; and
a Principle ſo generally receiv'd, that the m
cruel Tyrant would ſcarce dare ſay the C
trary. But to prevent Equivocation in
Word, the *Happineſs of a People* undeniably c
ſiſts, 1. In their not being oblig'd to obey
other Laws, but what are approv'd by l
Uſe, or are made in the accuſtomed man
2. In the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates,
the Fruits of their Labour, in Obedience to
Laws, without any Man's being allow'd to t
them away by Force. 3. In not contribut
to the Publick Expences, farther than t
are able, without reducing themſelves to
great Streights. 'Tis plain, that if the
price of an inconſtant Man, ſurrounded w
Flatterers, takes place of the Law; if the P
ple are not ſecure in the Poſſeſſion of t
own, but are obliged to pay more than t
are able; they cannot poſſibly be happy. T
appears from the Example of the Deſpo
Emp

pires of *Aſia*, where the Subjects, labour- under thoſe Inconveniencies, are the moſt ſerable Men living.

THESE general Principles being laid down, kind of Government can be recommended Hiſtory, but ſo far as it is conformable reto; Nor ought any Sovereign to be cry'd unleſs he regulates his Conduct thereby. us the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians ſtigmatize h the odious Name of *Tyranny*, all Forms Government, where the Laws are arbitrary; ere Men are not ſecure in the Poſſeſſion of at they have; and their Charges are ſo at, that there's no Living, but with all the ficulty in the World: And the ſame Hi- ians call thoſe Men *Tyrants*, who govern r that manner, whether alone, or in Con- tion. Such was their Notion of good Po- cks, as may be ſeen in the Political Books *Ariſtotle*.

No Government good, unleſs form'd upon thoſe Principles.

THO' 'tis evident, that People cannot be py under ſuch a Government, as I have deſcribing; and tho' it cannot be doubt- but Men firſt form'd themſelves into So- ies, for no other end, than to render them- es happy, by joining together; yet there appear'd a Claſs of Men, ſince the Six- nth Century, (at whoſe Head we may place *las Machiavel*) who have endeavour'd to roduce a very different Notion of Policy. y have had no manner of Regard to the ural and inviolable End of all reaſonable ieties; but only examin'd by what Methods Heads of the Societies may render them- es abſolute Maſters of the Laws, the E- es, and Lives of the People; and aggran-

People unhappy under other Politicks.

dize themſelves at the Expence of their Neigh
bours, without any Regard to Juſtice. All th
Policy of a Sovereign has no other End, wit
thoſe Men, than what I have juſt told you
and his greateſt Prudence conſiſts in compa
ſing his Deſigns at any rate, provided he do
it but. He has nothing to do to enquire wh
is juſt or unjuſt, but only how far the Pow
of the Sovereign will extend, without ruini
himſelf. This Sett of Politicians look up
the People, not as Men, whoſe Governou
ought to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours
procure their Happineſs; but as a Kennel
Hounds, not to be fed, only ſo far as is n
ceſſary, to enable them to ſerve for their D
verſion.

Of Machiavel's Prince.

MACHIAVEL's Prince has no other Vi
than his own Advantage, and labours for t
Good of his Subjects, in proportion only
the Benefit that will accrue to him therefro
This is preciſely what the *Greeks* call'd a T
rant; as appears from *Ariſtotle*'s Definitio
who affirms, that *Tyranny is a Monarchy*, wh
tends only to the Advantage of the Prince.

Polit. Lib. iii. cap. 7.

False Views of Deſpotick Powers.

THE moſt Deſpotick Powers, the Gr
Seignior himſelf not excepted, endeavour
inſinuate to their Subjects, that they have
other Thing in View, than the Good of t
State, to which, if we may believe them, th
ſacrifice All. 'Tis a kind of Repriſal this, wh
Tyranny and Vice make upon Liberty a
Vertue. Mean time, as there is every wh
and, eſpecially, among thoſe who are nea
the Princes Perſons, an infinite Number
Men, who ſeek their own private Advant
only, by flattering the Sovereign Power,
rei

igning with it, if they can; *Machiavel*'s Te-
ts, abominable as they are, have very much
tain'd, and made a conſiderable Progreſs in
e World. Such as are infected therewith,
ll the Sentiments of thoſe who believe the
ghts of Sovereigns are limited by the Laws,
itious Doctrine; and the Expreſſion is now
common to *Europe* as *Aſia*, that *the Eſtates*
d Lives of the Subjects belong to the Prince. As
ere are abundance of Places, where it is not
e, to oppoſe ſuch ſcandalous Diſcourſes, the
e Sentiments have likewiſe debauch'd the
inds of a great many Hiſtorians. They eve-
where inſinuate, that States cannot be hap-
and quiet, unleſs the People pay a blind
bmiſſion in all things, to the Pleaſure of the
vereigns; as being not born to form a So-
ty with their Equals, advantageous to all
e Members thereof, but to be the Princes
aves.

THE *Clergy*, who, for the moſt part, claim *The ſame of the Clergy.*
h another Monarchy over Mens Minds, have
ain'd their Imagination to flatter the Tem-
ral Powers, and thereby prevail with 'em to
pport them in their Pretenſions; and to
ign, even with them, over the Body as well
the Soul, becauſe of the ſtrict Relation there
between thoſe two Things. To compaſs
eir Deſigns, they have made uſe of the Di-
ne Authority, as if the *Chriſtian* Religion
ere compatible with none but Deſpotick Em-
res, as well over the Body, as the Mind;
ſt as the *Muftis* and *Alfaquis* promiſe *Ma-*
met's Paradiſe to ſuch as approve themſelves
e *Sultan*'s beſt Slaves.

Of Prelates and Eccleſiaſticks.

And ſince I have, once more, mention'd the Eccleſiaſticks, it will not be amiſs to acquaint the Reader here what *Agrippa* ſaid of thoſe of his Time, in his Treatiſe of the Vanity of the Sciences. *If*, ſays he, *you find fault with the Gentlemen of the* Clergy, *for their* Vices and diſſolute Manner of Life; *their Excuſe is always ready, and they'll quote you numerous Examples. Tell 'em, they are* ignorant; *they acknowledge, that our* Saviour *choſe ſuch Men for his Apoſtles, who were neither Maſters in the Law nor Scribes; neither had they ever frequented the Synagogue, or the School. If you accuſe 'em of* ſpeaking ill *and* barbarouſly; *they anſwer, that* Moſes *had an Impediment in his Speech,* Jeremiah *knew not how to ſpeak, and* Zacharias *was dumb, which did not, however, exclude him from the Prieſthood. Upbraid 'em with* Infidelity, Hereſy, *or* Ignorance in the Holy Scriptures; *they tell you, that St.* Ambroſe *was made a Biſhop, before he was receiv'd into the* Chriſtian *Church; that St.* Paul *was call'd to be an Apoſtle, while yet an Infidel and Perſecutor; that St.* Auſtin *was a* Manichee; *and that* Marcellus the Martyr *being Pope, offer'd Incenſe to Idols. If you complain of their* Ambition; *they name, for Patterns, the Sons of* Zebedee. *To 'em, they are* fearful; *ſo were* Jonah *and* Thomas; *the former was afraid to go to the* Ninevites, *and the other to the* Indians. *Charge 'em with* Perfidiouſneſs; *they affirm, that St.* Peter *added Perjury to Perfidy. With* Adultery; *they ſay,* Sampſon, Hoſea, *and* David, *frequented Harlots. Reprove 'em for* Murders *and* Wars; *St.* Peter *cut off* Malchus's *Ear; St.* Martin *was one of the Emperor* Julian's *Guards; and* Moſes *kill'd*

ll'd the Egyptian, *and hid him in the Sand.* Thus nothing hinders them from being admitted and tolerated in every thing. Whoſoever oppoſes the Prelates, ſhall not go off with Impunity. *Dathan* and *Abiram*, for reſiſting *Moſes*, were ſwallow'd up quick in the Earth. Several who conſpired againſt *Corah* and *Aaron*, were conſumed by Fire. *Ahab* and *Jezebel* perſecuted the Prophets, and were made Food for Dogs. The Children who mock'd *Eliſha*, were torn in pieces by Bears. King *Uzziah*, having invaded the Prieſt's Office, was ſmitten with a Leproſy. And *Saul* undertaking to ſacrifice without *Samuel*, was outed of his Kingdom, *&c.*

Practice of Religion for different Motives.

'Tis remarkable in Hiſtory, that divers Perſons, tho' they were not of a certain Religion, did, nevertheleſs, take Care to imitate the Manners, and practiſe the Ceremonies, of it, for different Motives. Thus *Odet de Chatillon* put on the Habit of a Cardinal, when he knew the Pope had degraded him, and appear'd ſo cloath'd, in the Aſſembly which met at *Roüen*, upon Account of the Majority of King *Charles* IX. and that out of *Raillery*.

Vid. Frapolo.

The *Mahometans* of *Tunis* have ſometimes aſſiſted at the Maſs which is ſaid at a Place call'd *the Bath of Slaves*; till, one day, a Smoaker went up to the Tapers, to light his Pipe, out of meer *Curioſity*. *Manhut*, who was the *Grand Seignior*'s Spy at *Paris* in the Year 1667, uſually aſſiſted at the Maſs; but, at the ſame time, read the *Alcoran*, and directed his Prayers to *Mahomet*; and this was *Policy* in him. *Claudian* made Verſes, wherein he extoll'd the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt*; but it was to *oblige*

Vid. P. Copin.

See the Grand Seignior's *Spy.*

the Princeſs *Serena*. *Tribonian* treated, in *Pandects*, of the Myſtery of the Holy Trinity, to pleaſe the Emperor *Juſtinian*. *Eraſmus* tho' he approv'd not the Invocation of Saints did yet compoſe the Office of Our Lady of *Loretto*, to gratify the Archbiſhop of *Bezanc*. And infinite other Examples might be produced.

That the Church of Rome *is ſtill full of Paganiſm.*

AGAIN, 'tis obſervable, that ſuch as call themſelves *Roman-Catholicks*, have retain'd abundance of *Paganiſh* Rites and Ceremonies; ſuch are, the Sprinkling of Holy-Water; the Kiſſing of the Pope's Toe; the Cardinals Purple Garment; and more eſpecially, the *Apotheoſis* of the Saints, which they call Canonization, whereby they declare, that a Man enjoys the Felicity of Heaven, and that he ought to be invok'd by the Faithful. But thoſe good Men are not wont to canonize ſuch as perſevere in their Conſtancy for the true Religion. The Perſons they uſually canonize are moſt wicked, profligate Fellows; ſuch as St. *George*, who maintain'd the Cauſe of the *Arians* in the Town of *Alexandria*; *Thomas Becket*, who reſiſted his Prince's Command without a Cauſe; *John Guerin*, who deflower'd the Count of *Barcelona*'s Daughter; *Julian* who maintain'd an unlawful Commerce with *Urban* IV. *Dominique*, who caus'd a hundred thouſand innocent Perſons to be maſſacred in *Languedoc*; *James Clement*, who ſtabb'd King *Henry* III. of *France*, twice, in the Belly, with a Knife; and *Garnet*, who was concern'd in the Gun-Powder-Plot here in *England*.

Vid. doctiſſ. Zuinges, de Feſt. Corpor. Chriſti.

Of the Canonization of their Saints.

IN a word, they commonly canonize not but Extravagants; as, a *Symeon Stylite*, who

'd 46 Years pearch'd upon a high Pillar; a *acarius*, who lay ſeven Years upon Thorns, atone for his killing a Flea; a *Benedict*, who ng himſelf ſtark-naked into the Buſhes, to ay the Fury of his Luſt; a *Francis d' Aſſiſa*, o wallow'd in the Mire, in the Face of the orld; a *Juniperus*, who put Hens into the t, without plucking them; a *Mary d' Oignies*, o kneel'd 360 times a day; or a *John de la ix*, who travel'd all *Europe* over, with a oſs upon his Shoulders, weighing 90 Pound. e ſhould never have done, ſhould we go a- t to relate the Extravagancies of all their oniz'd Saints.

A particular Obſervation.

As, in *England*, *Henry* VIII. aboliſh'd the pe's Supremacy, King *Edward* VI. remov'd er Abuſes, and Queen *Elizabeth* completed Reformation; ſo, in the Empire of the orld, *Trajan* put an end to the Perſecution the *Chriſtians*, *Adrian* allow'd them Tem- s, *Marcus Aurelius* puniſh'd their Accuſers, *acalla* would not ſuffer them to be abus'd, *Severus* reverenced *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Conſiderable Events in the 17th Century.

The laſt Age was fruitful in very conſide- le Events. King *Charles* I. of *England*, loſt Head upon a Scaffold; **Cromwel** govern'd his room, without being King; *James* II. icated the Throne, and King *William* III. ended it, and maintain'd himſelf on it as g as he liv'd. In *France*, *Lewis* XIV. was ven, in his Infancy, from *Paris*, and aſ- 'd the Title of *Great* in his Old Age; The nce of *Condé*, his Enemy, marry'd his Grand- to a Natural Daughter of that Monarch; lid Cardinal *Mazarin* his Siſters and Nie- to the greateſt Princes and Lords of *Eu-*

rope.

rope. *Lutheraniſm* and *Calviniſm* were baniſ
Germany and *France*, their Native Countr
France ſuffer'd extremely from the Republi
of *Holland*, to whom ſhe pretended to h
given Birth. The *Dutch* guarded the Ga
of *Bruſſels*; Duke of *Alba*, Where was Yo
Queen *Chriſtina* deſcended the Throne of S
den, to turn Votary at *Rome*; and *John C*
mir quitted that of *Poland*, to be made Ab
of St. *Germain de Prez*. *Mahomet* IV. be
upon the Point of dethroning *Leopold* I.
himſelf dethroned at *Conſtantinople*. The T
took a Pleaſure in diminiſhing their own Forc
by ſtrangling their *Grand Viſiers*. The *Chi*
Empire turn'd *Roman-Catholicks*. The D
of *Genoa* went to *Paris*, to return the *Fr*
Thanks for their bombarding that Town. T
Houſe of *Bavaria*, by Women, mounted
Imperial Thrones of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and S
den. The Duke of *Savoy*, in one Campa
drew his Sword for and againſt *France*. T
United Provinces were fill'd with an infi
Number of Sects, without ſuffering the l
in their Worſhip. *Ceuta* ſtood a Four-Ye
Siege. A hundred and fifty thouſand *Fr*
would not venture to attempt the Relief
Namur. The King of *Spain* uſed the King
Portugal as his Brother-in-Law; *Alfonſo*
ſcended that Throne, and his Brother *P*
maintain'd himſelf thereon, in the Quality
Regent, without being King. *France* ow
King *William*'s Title, and reſtor'd him
Principality of *Orange*. *France* having b
always victorious during the late War,
ſtor'd whatever ſhe had taken, and *Lor*
to the Duke of that Name. All *France* m
mur

r'd; and nobody durſt revolt. *Lewis* XIV. od againſt almoſt the whole World; but unlimited Ambition may, at laſt, force to ſuccomb, and reduce him to his for- State.

The King of Siam's ſharp Anſwer to the French King.

FATHER *Tachard*, in the Account he gives the Voyage of *Siam*, where 'twas preten- , they had made a great Progreſs in the nverſion of the People of that Kingdom, the Conſequence whereof was fatal to its thors, reports, that the King of *Siam* being orted by the *French* King, to turn *Chriſtian*, de Anſwer, that *the Change of a Religion re- d and follow'd throughout his whole Kingdom, the Space of* 2229 *Years, without Intermiſſion, a very nice Affair; and eſpecially, to embrace ther, whoſe Prieſts made their* God, *and then him.*

Of Mens Propenſion to the Reigning Religion. Abrege Chronol. An. 1562.

MONSIEUR *de Mezerai* has a Paſſage con- ning *Katharine de Medicis*, which, in my inion, deſerves Conſideration. In the Bat- of *Dreux*, the King's Party having had worſt in the Beginning, ſome Run-away oopers gallop'd directly to *Paris*, and gave , that all was loſt. *Katharine*, without any raordinary Emotion, only cry'd out; *Well, we muſt ſay our Prayers in* French; and im- diately began to careſs ſuch as were Friends the Prince of *Condé*, and the new Opinions. nce it appears, that ſhe was perfectly re- n'd, as to the Downfal of the *Roman-Catho-* Religion in that Kingdom, and ready to rifice it to the Party of the new Religion, this got uppermoſt. Nor had the Train Maids of Honour, whom ſhe kept to make Creatures, at the Expence of whatever you

you pleaſe, made any greater Scruple of b
lieving that they muſt ſay their Prayers
French, had the victorious Prince of *Condé* m
ry'd 'em advantageouſly to *Proteſtant* Lord
and thus, every one, by degrees, would, af
the Example of the Queen-Mother, have r
conciled himſelf, with abundance of Facili
to the Reformation. So that nothing but t
Winning of a Battle by the Royaliſts, hinde
the Reigning Religion from becoming tole
ted only, and diſgraced. And the ſame thi
had happen'd thirty Years after, had *Henry*
been able to aboliſh the League by Force
Arms. There had then been no Conferen
at *Suréne*, nor Promiſes of being inſtruc
The victorious King had been troubled w
no Scruples concerning Religion, but had
it upon the Throne; and it had been a gr
Happineſs for the *Roman-Catholicks* to have
tain'd an Edict of *Nantes*, to be ſo much as t
lerated.

Two Sorts of Converters employ'd in the Perſecution of France.

In the late Perſecution of *France*, two So
of Converters were made uſe of; namely, o
of the Short-Robe, the other of the Lo
Robe: Nor muſt the ſame Judgment be form
of both. Thoſe of the Long-Robe ſeem l
excuſable than the others, as well becauſe th
put the King upon all the violent Methods
Converſion there made uſe of, as becauſe th
had read, in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, the C
demnation of thoſe Methods; whereas t
Converters of the Short-Robe did nothing b
obey the King's Commands, and were not o
Profeſſion, to know the Opinions of the
thers. I ſhall recite a Paſſage of *Socrates* up
this Subject, which, at the ſame time, prov
t

t ſuch Methods of Converſion were blamed
ong the Primitive *Chriſtians*, and induced a-
ndance of People to abjure the Profeſſion
their Faith. His Words are theſe: *As for*
too-great Cruelty which had been exercis'd un-
Diocleſian's *Reign*, Julian *would not uſe it,*
did nevertheleſs perſecute the Church. For, I
it Perſecution, *when Men who lead quiet*
ves, are diſquieted in any manner whatſoever.
w his Manner of vexing the Chriſtians *was this.*
made a Law forbidding them to ſtudy, leſt by
Help of the Sciences, ſaid he, *they ſhould the*
re eaſily anſwer the Heathen *Philoſophers. He*
wiſe turn'd them out of all Military Employs
Court, and the Government of the Provinces;
partly by his Careſſes, partly by his Liberali-
drew over abundance to the Worſhip of the
ods. *It was then ſeen, as Metals are try'd in*
Crucible, who were the falſe Chriſtians, *and*
o the true: *For, the* true Chriſtians *chear-*
ly reſign'd their Offices, ready to ſuffer any thing,
her than renounce the Faith. But for thoſe,
o, inſtead of being true Chriſtians, *prefer'd*
Riches and Honours of the World to true Fe-
ity, they did not boggle at ſacrificing to Idols.
e afterwards ſpeaks of a Sophiſter named
ebolius, who is the true Portraiture of a-
ndance of People. *He was always of the Re-*
ion of the Emperors. In the Reign of Conſtan-
ne, *he counterfeited a wonderful Zeal for the*
ſpel; *but under* Julian, *none had a greater Ve-*
ration for the Paganiſh *Superſtitions, than* Ece-
lius. *After* Julian's *Death,* Chriſtianity *ha-*
ng remounted the Throne, the Sophiſter, without
more ado, reſum'd the Profeſſion of a Chri-
an. In a word, *Socrates* informs us, that in
the

Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. iii. cap. 12. & 13.

Ecebolius *the Sophiſter.*

the Reign of that Apoſtate Emperor, the Ch*ſtians* were obliged to pay immenſe Sums, redeem themſelves from the Obligation of ſ crificing to the *Gods*. But all honeſt Men co demn ſuch a Method of Converſion; And *Julian*'s *Gods* had been reaſonable, they wo have abhorr'd the *Chriſtians*, who had not fer'd Sacrifices to them, but to ſave themſel from the Tax, which their Sovereign's Rig exacted from them.

A fine Diſcourſe of a Biſhop.

We read, in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, tha *Grecian* Biſhop, whoſe Name was *Eſterius*, who liv'd about the End of the fourth C tury, made an Homily againſt Avarice, whe in was the following Paſſage, which may ry properly be inſerted here. *What*, cry'd *has obliged the* Chriſtians *to abandon themſelv the Worſhip of the Devils? Is it not their ſire of Riches? Is it not the Hope and Pro made to 'em by the Impious, of the Goods Honours of the World, which has induced Wretches to change their Religion as a Garm We ſtill remember Examples of the Primi Times, and have ſeen very dreadful ones in t our days. For, when the Emperor* (Julian) *at throwing off the Mask, diſcover'd what he long diſſembled, and publickly ſacrificed to* Gods, *and incited others, by divers Rewards, do the like; how many abandon'd the Chur to join themſelves in Communion with Idolat How many, tempted by ſeveral Baits, ſwall down the Hook of Impiety?* Doubtleſs, the G *tiles* ſaid almoſt the ſame Things, when *Chriſtian* Emperors drew over Idolaters to true Religion, by the Hope of making th Fortune. For, 'tis certain, that during Rei

gns of the *Conſtantines*, the *Theodoſius's*, and *Clovis's*, moſt of the *Heathens*, who had ind to be Courtiers, embraced the true igion; whereby the Goſpel and the Truth e Sufferers. Thoſe falſe Converts were a geon of Superſtitions and Errours, which ſt the Church, perhaps, to this very day. s even to be fear'd, that all the falſe Con- s of our Age are a Scion of Incredulity, ch, by degrees, will ſap the good Founda- ns, and, in time, inſpire People with a tempt for the Devotion moſt in Vogue.

The Opinion of the Modern Jews and Miſſionaries.

Tis ſaid, that the Opinion of moſt of the dern *Jews* is, to believe they do a good ion, and very meritorious in the Sight of D, in deceiving *Chriſtians*, not only by go- to Maſs with extraordinary Marks of Zeal, evade the Tribunal of the *Inquiſition*, but by cheating them with fraudulent Bar- ns, by exceſſive Uſury, and Breach of Faith. of *Modena*, a Rabbi of *Venice*, endeavours clear them of this, in his Book of the Ce- onies and Cuſtoms of the *Jews*, whereof nſieur *Simon* has given us a ſecond Verſion. thing can be more heretical, than to be- e, one can pleaſe GOD, by violating the mmon Notions of Equity. Wherefore, 'tis me the moſt unaccountable thing in the rld, that there have been, and are ſtill in nce, either ſo many Miſſionaries, blind e- gh to perſuade the Magiſtrates, that they do an acceptable Service to GOD, in ſhing the Innocence of the *Proteſtants*, pro- ed the Demoliſhing of a Temple, the Ba- ment of a Miniſter, or the Converſion of a *teſtant*, do but reſult therefrom; or ſo ma-

Lib. ii. cap. 5.

ny

ny Magiſtrates infatuated enough, to imbi
thoſe abominable Maxims. It were better,
thouſand times, they were indifferent for
the Sects of the *Chriſtian* Religion, than
have, for the true one, a Zeal ſo full of
piety. But there are abundance of other
ctrines, maintain'd with great Warmth,
Names that make an illuſtrious Figure
Chriſtendom; ſuch are, that Faith ought
to be kept with *Hereticks*; that 'tis Mart
dom, to fall in a Conſpiracy made againſt
Heretical King; that it is lawful, to kill
Enemy; to rejoice at the Death of ones
ther; to procure an Abortion, to ſave
ſelf from Slander; and ſeveral others,
Enumeration whereof would be too tedious

The Cauſes of the greateſt Events ſometimes very ſlight and trivial.

THE grand Motive which induced *Xe*
to enter into a War againſt the *Greeks*,
occaſion'd the greateſt Armament record
Hiſtory, was this: A *Grecian* Phyſician,
of the Queen's Domeſticks, had a mind to
his own Country again, and ſo perſuaded
Miſtreſs to that vaſt Expedition, and the K
himſelf, by means of the Queen.

See M. Balzac's Ariſtippus.

WHAT made all *Greece* arm for the R
of *Priam*'s flouriſhing Kingdom, but the Fl
of a * Coquet, with a † young Prince,
whom ſhe was in Love; and the Credulit
a || Husband, who (like moſt in his Row)
Goodneſs enough to fancy, his dear Lady
been carry'd away by main Strength
Vlolence?

* Helena.
† Paris.
|| Menelaus.

WAS not a King of *Macedonia* in dange
ſuccombing, in a Civil-War, by the Intr
of a Lady, who could not brook, that

was known ſhe was not cruel, Men would t accept of her Favours?

WAS it not believ'd, that the Deſcent of *Engliſh* in the Iſle of *Rhé*, was a Work of icy and Zeal for *Religion*, animated with Hopes of eclipſing the Glory of all the ſades of the ancient Kings of *England?* and it was a War of pure * *Gallantry*, founded on the amorous Crotchets of a Favourite.

* P. le Moine of *Hiſtory.*

WHAT was the prime Cauſe of the Invaſion *Spain* by the *Saracens*; but that Count *Ju-*'s Daughter, not thinking fit to turn a deaf r to the amorous *Fleurettes* of her Prince, com-'d with his Demands, and gave him Marks of nutual Affection? The *Saracens* penetrating, erwards, into the very Heart of *France*, ere they committed innumerable Ravages, ore they were expell'd by the brave *Charles artel*; they did not fail to ſay, 'twas a Me-r, which appear'd in the Year 726, that had s'd all thoſe Troubles. But they ought to e been attributed to the too great Facility the *Spaniſh* Lady, ſince the *Moors* having, the Opportunity ſhe gave 'em, puſh'd their nqueſts as far as the *Pyrenees*, it was very ural for the Conquerors to deſire to ad-ce, and carry their Arms into the fineſt ntry in the World.

WE read, in Monſieur *Balzac*'s one and entieth Diſcourſe, that a Letter not quite reſpectful as was expected, and the Omiſ-n of two Syllables only, coſt the Lives of ve 200000 Men. *Very humble and Moſt Af-ionate*, which the Count-Duke *d' Olivarez* nd at the Bottom of a Prince's Letter, in-d of *Moſt humble and Moſt Obedient*, which

he look'd upon as his Due, put him into ſuch Paſſion, that, tearing the Prince's Letter pieces, he ſwore, that his Incivility ſhould co him the Ruin of his Country.

* Memoir. Tom. 1. Diſc. de l'Amiral de Bonnivet.

BRANTOME * obſerves, that Admiral *Bonnivet* was the only Man, who advis'd *Fr cis* I. to paſs the Mountains, *not ſo much the Good and Service of his Maſter, as to go ſee a great Lady of* Milan, *a famous Beauty, w he had made his Miſtris ſome Years before, had a mind to enjoy, once more, the Pleaſ he had formerly taſted. I have heard,* con nues he, *this Story from a great Lady, w Name was ſaid to be* Signora Clerice, *then kon'd one of the greateſt Beauties in* Italy, *put him upon ſeeing, and lying with her. this was the principal Cauſe of the King's ſage, tho' it is not publickly known. Thus half of the World is ignorant how the other liv for, we take the Thing in a different manner f what it is. But* GOD, *who knows all things, la at us.* Now, is it not a dreadful thing, an Expedition which puſh'd *France* upon Brink of Deſtruction, by the Impriſonment her King, was chiefly occaſion'd by an a rous Whim, which might have been ſatisf without going ſo far?

Conquerors avoid paſſing for Perſecutors.

MAHOMET having reſolv'd to lay the Fo dation of a great Empire, and a new Religi at the ſame time; affected a thouſand App rances of * Love for the *Chriſtians*, and p claim'd in all the Places, where he was ſtro eſt, that he wou'd tolerate all Religions, eſpecially the *Chriſtian*. This he declares his *Alcoran*, in the moſt ſignificant Expreſſio *O Infidels*, ſays he, *I do not worſhip that*

* Rycaut's *State of the* Ottoman *Empire*, Lib. ii. cap. 2.

worſhip; *neither do you worſhip that which I* ſhip. *Obſerve your Law, and I will obſerve* e. 'Tis pretended, that he made a Trea- with the *Chriſtians*, whereby he obliged nſelf and all his Succeſſors, in the moſt au- ntick manner, to protect them, and to let enjoy a great many conſiderable Privileges; Original of which Treaty is ſaid to have n found in a Monaſtery of * *Mount-Carmel*. nſieur *de Saumaiſe* does not look upon this e as ſpurious, and grounds his Opinion a Paſſage in *El-Macin*'s Life of *Mahomet*, ch ſpeaks of his Indulgence for the *Chri-* Religion. But tho' we ſhould even ſu- t, with *Grotius*, that this is a pious Fraud he *Chriſtians*; yet we might elſewhere read, that falſe Prophet did tolerate *Chriſtianity*; that the Chapter of the *Alcoran*, which is tled, *Of the Sword*, whatever Violence it ws to be exercis'd againſt thoſe who will ſubmit their Necks to the Yoke, neverthe- orders ſuch as ſhall lay down their Arms, e tolerated. And indeed, this was, with t Humanity, put in Practice by the firſt eſſors of *Mahomet*, as Father † *Maim-* is obliged to own, in his Hiſtory of *Iconoclaſts*; where he aſſures us, that the hs did not only allow the *Chriſtians* the Exerciſe of their Religion, but even pre- d 'em to great Offices. They made no culty of entruſting the Father of St. *John amas*, with the Principal Employs in the ire, and conferring the ſame on his Son him, whom they made, beſides, Preſident e Council, and Governour of the Capital. *Chriſtians* are even tolerated, at this very

* *See the Subſtance of it, in* Rycaut, *ut ſupra.*

† Lib. i. ad Ann. 731.

day, in *Turky*, and are much more afraid
the Artifice, than of the Violence of the In
dels. For, if they ſpeak againſt the Religi
of *Mahomet*; or, when drunk, inconſidera
ly promiſe to turn *Turks*; or obtain the
Favour from a *Turkeſs*; there is no Medium
'em between Death or Apoſtacy.

THE Conquerors, who went before *Ma*
met, were leſs ſo, than he. We no wh
read, that *Cyrus*, or *Alexander*, or *Ceſar*,
ask'd what Religion the People they had
quiſh'd, were of, in order to force 'em
change it, in caſe it was different from
of their new Maſter.

The true Portraiture of Dionyſius *the Tyrant.*

THE *Greek* Hiſtories make Mention
Lady of *Sicily*, who ſaw, in her Dream, a
of Devil, chain'd under *Jupiter*'s Feet,
was let looſe for no other purpoſe, than
a Scourge to his Country, and to ſhed
Blood of 200000 Men, in order to place
Diadem upon his Head, and to ſtrengthen
he ſaid, his Tyranny with *Chains of Dia*
This was the *Dionyſius*, who was the Au
of ſo many Calamities. He had a great
but was Perfidious, and a Murderer. There
ver was a Correſpondence between his W
and Truth. All his Oaths were Perjuries.
very Careſſes were mortal. *Sicily* and
were the Theater of his Tragedies. At
having furniſh'd Hiſtorians with ſufficient
ter of Horrour for Poſterity, he grew
of being a Tyrant. Towards the Decli
his Years, he would needs turn Poet;
with the ſame Hand, which had been ſo
dipp'd in the Blood of his Friends and
mies, and had ſign'd the Proſcriptions an

ers for laying ſo many Provinces deſolate; would ſee whether he could not write ymns, and Songs, and Tragedies. But it is uch eaſier to be a treacherous, perfidious, and urdering Prince, than to compoſe Pieces of it and Humour. He could never attain to whatever Diligence and Artifice he us'd nong the *Greeks*. *Philoxenes*, among the reſt, uld never have the Complaiſance for the Tynt-Poet, to give the leaſt Approbation of his orks.

Obſervation of the late Prince of Condé.

THE late Prince of *Condé* ſaid, one day, at he knew three illuſtrious Fools: The ake *de Verneüil*, who reſign'd 600000 Livres Year for a Wife; King *Caſimir*, who abdited the Throne of *Poland*, to be Abbot of *Germain*; and the Mareſchal *de Turenne*, o took the Holy Ghoſt from his Heart, to t it upon his Cloaths. To theſe may be add three others: King *J*——, who abann'd and loſt three Kingdoms for the Love a Miſtreſs, (*Rome*;) the Elector of *Bava*, who left his own Territories, to become Dragoon to *Lewis* XIV. and his Brother the ector of *Cologn*, who likewiſe abandon'd his, be *France*'s Slave in the firſt place, and en the Pope's Penitent.

A Thought of the Count de Stratman.

THE Count *de Stratman*, the Emperor's Firſt iniſter, ſaid, there were three ſorts of Perns in the World. The firſt, compos'd of ch as minded other Peoples Affairs, and negted their own; and theſe he call'd Fools. he ſecond, on the contrary, regarded their n Intereſts only, and neglected thoſe of oer Men; who, he ſaid, were good for none t themſelves. The third Sort did their own

and the Affairs of others together; and the he reckon'd Able Men. And in this manne *ſaid he*, have I ſerv'd my Maſter. Howeve he had amaſs'd ſeveral Millions of Livres i his Service.

Of the Jeſuites, and a famous Cheat of theirs, in 1652.

EVERY body knows, that the *Jeſuites*, im tating the other Orders of Monks, took a Fa cy to ſend *Miſſionaries* into divers Parts of t World, but eſpecially, into the *Eaſt-Indies* a *China*, to convert thoſe Idolaters to *Chriſti n'ty*, and thereby render themſelves comme dable among the *Roman-Catholicks*. But tho who receiv'd the Miſſions, whether it was, th they met with Difficulties in inſtilling the Doctrine into the People, or that they had Eye on the prodigious Advantages of Tra ſick, apply'd themſelves altogether thereto, a turn'd Merchants; ſtill retaining their fo mer Title of *Miſſionaries*, and their Reputati as ſuch, in all the Nations whence they h been ſent. 'Tis their Commerce, that has ſin built and enrich'd ſo many noble Structur for that Order of Men; and they incurr'd, that means, not only the Envy of the genui Merchants, but even the Hatred of the oth *Miſſionaries*, who were ſent by ſeveral Orde of Monks, that claim'd a Share in the Hono of advancing the Propagation of the *Catholi* Faith. This occaſion'd the Diſcovery of m of their Impoſtures and evil Conduct, and, mong the reſt, of one very remarkable, whi deſerves to be related as it is by the Auth

Pag. 105. of the *Jeſuites Theater*. *In the Year* 1652, (ſa he) *a* Jeſuite *with Hair hanging down upon Shoulders, and a Beard almoſt to his Girdle, c to* Rome, *giving himſelf the Title of* Miſſiona

China, *and the Emperor of* China's *Ambaſſador his Holineſs. He had given the Pope Advice the Subject of his Embaſſy, which was, that at great Monarch and his whole Kingdom kiſs'd s Holineſs's Feet; that they all ſubmitted themves to the Church, and demanded Preachers to each the Goſpel in thoſe vaſt Regions; and, that greater Aſſurance of their Submiſſion, that great mperor had, with him, ſent his only Son and eir to all his Territories, to pay the Obedience ich was due to his Holineſs.* But it was afterards found, that this only Son of the great mperor of *China*, was a miſerable *Chineſe*, d neither better nor worſe than Valet to a *copin* Miſſionary. This Event is ſo much the ore remarkable, in that it is one of the Maſerades, which, from time to time, are acted *Rome*. Sometimes 'tis an Ambaſſador from *eſter John*; at other times, an Envoy from e Patriarch of *Alexandria*: Now the *Neſtos*, and by and by the *Jacobites* of the *Eaſt* me to kiſs his Holineſs's Feet. Theſe Comes are a very agreeable Diverſion at *Rome*, ere they never take the Pains to draw the rtain, and lay open the Intrigue. This, like the reſt, had ſucceeded to the great Satiſtion of the Court of *Rome*, had not the *Doicans*, who were cruelly perſecuted by the *ſuites* in *India*, made Repriſals upon 'em in *rope*, by diſcovering the Impoſture, and diging the Secret. They ſatisfy'd the Pope, t the Emperor of *China* was not in a Conion to ſend Ambaſſadors, and among them only Son, by reaſon the *Tartars* had juſt ſſeſs'd themſelves of his Empire, pillag'd Treaſury, and deſtroy'd the whole Royal

Family. A Holy Court, wherein Lyes a
Impoſture are detected, would certainly ha
made ſome Noiſe upon this Diſcovery, a
hung the Impoſtor, as he well deſerv'd. B
all that was done to the *Jeſuite* was, that t
Pope, perceiving, the *Dominicans* could not
prevail'd with to connive at the Farce, ſuffer
the Ambaſſador of *China* to make his Entra
into *Rome* with no great Shew or Magnifice
and permitted him to lodge in the College
Jeſuites, without doing Good or Hurt, eith
to him, or his pretended King's Son. So,
the End of Six Months, they both return
to the Place from whence they came, to t
unſpeakable Diſſatisfaction of the *Jeſuites*, w
reſolv'd to revenge the Affront put upon '
by the *Jacopins*. By this you may eaſily gue
what kind of *Chriſtians* they be, that are i
itiated in the Faith by ſuch Converters; a
that *Catholick Zeal is a Deity to whom they*
crifice All, not ſparing the Truth itſelf.

The Perſecution of France contrary to the Intereſt of the King and Country.

ALL *Europe* has reflected upon the Cond
of the Court of *France* for ſeveral Years pa
without having been able to dive into the M
ſtery, or found the Reaſons, thereof. Read b
the Hiſtory of the Perſecutions of the pre
ding Reigns, and then you quickly diſcover t
Motives. If *Francis* I. and *Henry* II. his S
were Perſecutors of the Reformation, 'tw
becauſe it was then new and juſt come in
the World, and they did not know what ki
of Men the *Reformed* would be. The big
ted *Papiſts*, who are ſtill cruel and blood-th
ſty, repreſented to 'em, that that new, gro
ing *Hereſy*, was a Monſter, which, in ti
might pluck out the Bowels of the State. Th

re, in their Courts, greedy Wolves, who ter'd themſelves with their Spoils. In the igns of *Francis* II. and *Charles* IX. we ſee a mily aſpiring, and paving their Way to the rone, by the Ruin of the *Proteſtant* Party, ich was then the only Support of the Branch the *Bourbons*. 'Tis eaſy to conceive, that a al, animated by Paſſions as violent as Ava- e and Ambition, is capable of perſecuting, en to the Blood, Perſons, whoſe Preſence and ves are an Obſtacle to thoſe Vices. There was, that Court, a Woman, whoſe inſatiable Am- ion was capable of ſacrificing Honour, Con- ence, Religion, Children, All, to the De- e of Reigning. 'Tis not ſurprizing, there- re, that ſhe could ſacrifice Millions of Inno- nts, to glut the *Guiſards*, who gave the ins into her Hand. We read, afterwards, a young Prince, naturally hot and fiery, who s brought up amidſt a World of Blood and ughter, and imbib'd, with his Milk, the ongeſt Prejudices againſt his beſt Subjects; o was ignorant of his own Intereſts, and ver conſulted any thing but his cruel Paſſions. d is it Matter of Wonder, that in ſuch a ign, there was nothing to be heard of, but aſſacres, and Perſecutions, and Millions of ople offer'd up to the Fury of their Perſe- tors? But if we take a View of the Court *Lewis* XIV. his Manners and Counſellors, at ſhall we ſay, or whom ſhall we blame, r ſo extraordinary a Conduct? 'Tis a hard atter, to point out the Perſons, who may ve inſpir'd that Monarch with Deſigns ſo op- ſite to the true Intereſt of his Kingdom. We rce know to whoſe Advice we muſt impute it;

it; But the Laws have been violated, to
ther with the *Arrêts* and Declarations m
ſolemnly ſworn to; and the Subjects ſacrifi
by divers kinds of unheard-of Perſecutio
and diſpers'd into all Parts of the World. A
what can be the End of this, but the m
dreadful Confuſions, and a Mine of Combu
bles, which may, one day, be ſprung, and
ſtroy one of the fineſt Kingdoms in *Eur*
upon the firſt Trouble which may ariſe, eit
within or without?

The Irruption of the Turks *to* Vienna *caus'd by Perſecution.*

THE Irruption of the *Turks* to the ve
Gates of *Vienna*, was the Fruit of the *Ca*
lick Zeal of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which
puſh'd, and ſtill remains, upon the Brink of
Ruin, by Perſecution. She choſe rather to m
ſhift without the Aſſiſtance of the Elector
Brandenburg, than to oblige him, by ceaſing
perſecute the Proteſtants of *Moravia* and S
* Sobieski. *ſia*. The King of * *Poland* deſired, that Co
Tekeli might be brought back to his Duty,
the Methods of Lenity and Mildneſs, in gra
ing Liberty of Conſcience to the *Proteſtan*
But the Biſhop of *Vienna* roundly declar'
that that did not depend upon the Empero
Leopold ſtood to't; whereupon, the Duke
Saxony retir'd in Diſguſt, and carry'd back h
Troops. No matter; Let all go, provided t
Jeſuites hold the Reins of Government. *Vien*
is beſieged. The Emperor eſcaping his Ruin b
by a Finger's Breadth, puts hundreds of tho
ſands of innocent Perſons to Death, and la
waſte a vaſt Extent of Land. And all this, o
of an obſtinate, infatuated Bigottry, and blin
Condeſcenſion to his Monks. And tho' Heave
had miraculouſly deliver'd him out of the Han

that formidable Enemy, and from utter
in; he nevertheleſs ſuffer'd himſelf to be
in drawn into the ſame Snares and Trou-
s with his own Subjects of *Hungary* and
nſylvania, to whom, thro' the ſame Hin-
nce of a *Jeſuitical* Council, he refus'd the
ice, which all the Allies advis'd him to do
m. *The Laws of Nature teach us to contribute*
we can to our own Safety and Preſervation.
gs are made for the People, and not the People
Kings. There were People, before there were
gs; and thus the People made themſelves Kings,
ide and preſerve them, and not to conſume and
roy them.

Of the Conſpiracy in England, towards the End of K. Charles II's Reign.

In the Conſpiracy which was enter'd into in
gland, towards the End of King *Charles* II's
ign, three ſorts of Malecontents were con-
n'd; *viz.* The *Ambitious*, who wanted to
bliſh themſelves upon the Ruin of the Par-
that carry'd all before 'em at Court; The
emies of the Duke of *York*, who had a De-
upon his Perſon; And ſome honeſt Men,
o deſign'd the King no Harm, but deſired
y the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Reli-
n, and their Native Liberties. Amidſt the
at of the Diſcontent occaſion'd by the Pro-
ations and Diſſolutions of Parliaments, ſo
eaſonable for the Nation, and ſo *à propos* for
Duke of *York*, the City of *London* was put
Confuſion, upon Account of the Creation of
eriffs. The King then took away the Char-
s of all the Towns in *England*, and broke
corrected them as he thought beſt; but
ecially, he annul'd the *Great Charter* of
Privileges of the City of *London*, leaving
no more of it than he pleas'd. This laſt

Stroke

Stroke hugely increas'd the Number of
Malecontents; and this great Body of M
contents was compos'd of abundance of Ca
and ſmall Parties, who had no Communicat
one with another, but had ſeparate Deſig
and had never had the leaſt Shadow of Cor
ſpondence between each other, had not
Earl of *Shaftsbury* been the Common So
which animated them all, and had a mind
make uſe of them, to gratify his Paſſions.
Deſign of making uſe of them all, obliged h
to diſcover himſelf to all. But having l
all Hope of ever joining them in the ſa
Thoughts and the ſame Intereſts, with
which they would be of no Service to hi
and perceiving, that his Secret was in ſo m
ny Hands, that it would infallibly take Wi
he took the Reſolution to retire to *Holl*
After his Departure, the Two principal C
bals did their Affairs apart. Another m
and miſerable one was form'd, conſiſting
none but Fools and Fanaticks; ſuch as *H*
who confeſs'd, that he had ſuffer'd himſelf
be ſeduced to kill the King, without touchi
the Duke of *York*. But there was another
of a more noble kind, whoſe Deſigns w
more honourable, and in which were the D
of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Gr*
the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Howard*, Colonel *S*
ney, and ſeveral others. If we may believe t
Lord *Howard*'s Depoſition, thoſe Gentlem
being deliver'd from *Shaftsbury*, a Perſon o
furious Spirit, and full of raſh Deſigns, ſet
themſelves for a ſecret Council, to the Nu
ber of Six Perſons, *viz.* the Duke of *Monmou*
Preſident, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ru*

Lord *Howard*, Colonel *Algernon Sidney*, and . *Hamden*; at leaſt, this was what the Lord *ward* ſaid, who was the only, and, as it after-rds appear'd, very miſchievous * Evidence. * *He was the Occaſion of the Lord* Ruſſel's *loſing his Head.* hoſe Gentlemen might have different Views, t none tending to take away the King's Life. is ſaid, that they deſign'd only to ſecure the ke of *York*, and make themſelves Maſters of e King's Perſon, in order to obtain his Con-nt for the Excluſion of the Duke of *York* from e Succeſſion, and ſo ſecure the Religion and ivileges of the Kingdom. They would have rced his Majeſty to grant them what they uld not obtain by way of Parliament. This ffair was very like that of the King of *Na-rre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and *de Coligny*, who, nder the Reigns of *Francis* II. and *Charles* IX. rm'd a Party to wreſt the Government out f the Hands of the *Guiſes*, who had poſſeſs'd emſelves of it. While the Duke of *Mon-outh*'s Party were buſy in fomenting an Inſur-ection in *London*, and the Country, another *In* No-vember, 1682. Conſpiracy was form'd againſt the King's Life, ut without the Participation of the Lords. his plainly appear'd from the Lord *Howard*'s Depoſition; And tho' theſe Two Parties had ifferent Views and Deſigns, and had, indeed, othing Common between 'em, yet the King as pleas'd to publiſh a Proclamation, which umbled the Two Conſpiracies together, as if hey had been but One. 'Tis obſervable, that ho' thoſe Two Parties had nothing common etween them, nevertheleſs, there were thoſe, who kept a Correſpondence with them both, nd concern'd themſelves in the Affairs of the Two Cabals. It is very probable, that theſe

Perſons

As Col. Rumſey, *a Creature of the Duke, who inſinuated himſelf into* Shaftſbury's *Confidence.*

Perſons were ſuborn'd by the Duke of *York*, diſcover what was in the Wind, againſt Intereſts. He was already very well aſſur that the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Sha bury*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, and all thoſe who ſtickled for his Excluſion, would never fli nor fail to make a ſtrong Party in the Ki dom againſt him. *This Affair ought to convi Men, that they ſhould never perſecute for the ſ of Religion; for, the Wretches who had ſuffe themſelves to be ſeduced to conſpire againſt King's Life, did it upon Account of the Perſe tion they had endured; whereas, had they been p mitted to live at Reſt, as in the Dawn of the R ſtauration, they had all remain'd peaceable a quiet; and no Plots of this kind had ever be heard of.*

Strange Proceedings of the Venetians *towards* Conſtantine, *who demanded their Aſſiſtance againſt the* Turks.

THERE is recorded, in Hiſtory, a Paſſa which deſerves Conſideration, in reſpect of t City of *Conſtantinople*, which was beſieged a taken by *Mahomet* II. in the Year 1453. Th was an Affair of the laſt Conſequence to *Chriſtendom*. That Town being taken, half the *Chriſtian* World went to Rack for *Je Chriſt*, and the other half were in immine Danger. For, what hinder'd the unacti *Turks* from over-running the whole Weſt, a well as the Eaſt? The *Venetians*, who, durin the Siege, were the only Maritime Powers, c pable of ſuccouring that Capital of the *Greci* Empire, ſuffer'd it to be reduced to the la Extremity, in Hopes, as 'tis ſaid, to make them ſelves Maſters of it, or, at leaſt, to ſeize ſom conſiderable Part of that poor Empire, tor in pieces by the Infidels. *Elian* reports, tha ſometimes they carry'd Arms and Ammuni tio

, by Sea, to the *Turks*, and ſometimes tranſ-ted them from *Aſia* into *Thrace*, by the *horus*, ſparing nothing which might bring ut their ambitious Deſign. *Conſtantinople* g very hard preſs'd both by Sea and Land, Emperor *Conſtantine* ſecretly diſpatch'd away riers to the General of the *Venetian* Fleet, ring him, in GOD's Name, and that of the gin Patroneſs of that Capital, to ſend him Two Ships, out of Compaſſion to a City, ch was the Seat of the Eaſtern Empire, and Patriarch. To this the *Venetian* General e Anſwer, That it was not the Cuſtom is Republick to defend the Eſtates of o-rs; That if the Emperor would be pleas'd ut himſelf into their Hands, and abandon Town to him, he was ready to ſail thither h his whole Fleet, in order to raiſe the e; That he was extremely concern'd for wretched Fate of the *Chriſtians*, and par-k of their Grief; but, That he had expreſs ers from the Senate to do what he did, ch to diſobey, were to riſque the Loſs of Head. In the mean time, *Conſtantinople* was n and plunder'd in Sight of the *Venetian* et, which heard the Cries and Shrieks of the men and Children, whoſe Throats were without Pity or Humanity. And the *Ve-ns* having thereby loſt all Hope of ma-g themſelves Maſters of that Imperial City, ld have, at leaſt, the Spoils and Riches of They bought of the *Turks*, all that was of t Value, with which they laded their Ships; in a triumphant manner, carry'd to *Ve-* the Relicks and Ruins of the *Roman* Em-.

Hardheartedneſs of the Venetians, and ſtrange Example of the Avarice of Merchants.

All

The Sentiments of Zeno *and* Epicurus *ill interpreted.*

Ede, bibe, gaude, poſt mortem nulla Voluptas.

All the Diſputes which happen'd betw the Admirers of the Two ancient Philo phers *Zeno* and *Epicurus*, ſerv'd for no ot end, than to render their Sentiments more diculous, by carrying them to contrary Ex ſes. Some would make us believe, that E *curus*, with his *Voluptas*, would reduce Man the Condition of brute Beaſts, and make a m *Hog* of him. Others complain, that *Zeno*, of an intolerable Pride, would, with his *tus*, raiſe him up to the Purity of Angels, make him a kind of *Divinity* upon Earth. if we examine, ſincerely and without Pr dice, the Sentiments of both, we ſhall ju take them in a more reaſonable Senſe; that by obſerving Two Things. The firſt that there may be ſome Equivocation betw theſe three Terms, *Sovereign Good*, *Happineſs*, *Laſt End*. The Sovereign Good is, prop ſpeaking, that which we propoſe to ourſe to obtain, as the greateſt Good, Man can ſibly poſſeſs. Thus *Zeno* conſider'd *Vertue*. H pineſs is nothing elſe, but the Pleaſure inward Joy which enſues upon the Poſſe and Enjoyment of the Sovereign Good; this is what *Epicurus* underſtood by the N of *Pleaſure*. The Laſt End ſignifies both promiſcuouſly: For, the Sovereign Good b that which we propoſe to ourſelves, as End of all our Actions, it is, undoubtedly, *End:* Moreover, the Content which ariſes f the Poſſeſſion of it, being the Bait which vites us to ſeek it, it may, with Reaſon, term'd our *Laſt End*. The ſecond thing w thy our Obſervation, is, that by the W *Voluptas*, *Pleaſure*, *Epicurus* did not mean,

Adverſaries would perſuade us. Theſe, ei-
r out of Malice or Ignorance, would fain
fine the Signification of that Word to the
aſure of the *Senſes* only; whereas *Epicurus*
derſtood it generally of all the *Contentments*
the *Soul*; as *Seneca* has made appear in di-
s Parts of his Writings; and particularly,
ere he ſays, *That* Epicurus's *Pleaſure, notwithſtanding its ſmoother Face, is not a whit leſs eſt, than* Zeno's Vertue. But if we conſult
y our Reaſon, we ſhall find, that the *Volup-*
, or Pleaſure in general, and all the Content-
nt which Man is capable of, reſides in the
l, tho' this is ſuſceptible of many Pleaſures,
means of the Senſes, which are, therefore,
'd the Windows of the Soul. Theſe Obſerva-
ns being granted, 'tis eaſy to put a favourable
ſe upon what thoſe Two Philoſophers have
ght, concerning the *Sovereign Good*, and *Hu-
ne Happineſs*: For, *Zeno* having always pro-
'd to himſelf to acquire the Sovereign Good
this Life; that is to ſay, the greateſt Good
t Man is capable of poſſeſſing, to render
nſelf happy; he was obliged to ſearch for
mong ſuch as depended the moſt abſolutely
n him, and which he knew to be leaſt in
Power of other Things: Thus it was with
aſon that he pitch'd upon Vertue as the So-
eign Good of Mankind, ſince, among all the
ods which may belong to them, only *Vertue*
irely depends upon themſelves, and may be
uired and preſerv'd by them, with full and
fect Liberty. So alſo *Epicurus*, who knew
t no kind of Good is ever deſirable, but
the Pleaſure which enſues upon the Enjoy-
nt of it, was not in the wrong, for ſaying,

that the *Happiness*, the *Motive*, and *Last E* of all our Actions, and all our Conduct, is n thing else, but the Pleasure, that is, the i ward Joy, the Satisfaction, and Content me of the Soul in general. And this is so app rent, that if the bare Knowledge of our Du induced us to do good Actions, without our k ing any Pleasure therein, we should not, the fore, be the more happy. We seek a Good, enjoy it; when we enjoy it, the Desires gratify'd; and this is all that we require, live happily. Virtue itself would not be a able, did we not receive a Pleasure in the P session thereof.

Wherein Zeno and Epicurus were alike mistaken.

THE Mistakes which *Zeno* and *Epicurus* we guilty of, in their Enquiry after the true Ha piness of Life, cannot better be discover'd, th by this Comparison; provided we take t Words *Sovereign Good*, *Happiness*, and *Last E* in their natural Sense as above explain'd. Su pose, a Mark were propos'd to be shot at, Men who are shew'd a Prize to be won; a that this Prize cannot be won, unless they likewise the Mark to which they ought to rect their Sight; And again, that all such as the Mark, are not thereby induced to shoot it, unless they know also, that there is a Pri to be won: By this Comparison, they are bo in the wrong; One for shewing us the Ma without speaking of the Prize; The other mentioning the Prize, without shewing us Mark.

ZENO, perhaps, consider'd, that it was Nature of the Sovereign Good, to be of it sufficient to complete our Happiness; and to be desirable, but for itself, without the C

siderat

eration of any other thing. He believ'd, t Vertue would not be Vertue, did he not eſt it of all the innocent Pleaſures, which ght be hop'd for in its Enjoyment. Thus he render'd it ſo ſevere, and ſuch an Ene- to Joy, dividing it from every other Good, all the Reaſons which the *Stoicks* make uſe to render it agreeable for its Nakedneſs, e hitherto been able to make Men happy y in Fancy. None but melancholy Spirits ld ever ſatisfy themſelves with ſo imperfect dea of Vertue, and with a Sovereign Good eſted of all other Goods.

EPICURUS, on the contrary, having ob- 'd, that Men were naturally inclined to de- things, in proportion as they thought 'em able of affording them the greateſt Con- ; and that they could receive no true one, by the Poſſeſſion of a true Good, he judg'd, n Reaſon, that Pleaſure in general was the ppineſs, or Laſt End, which Men propoſe to nſelves in all their Actions. It is, indeed, rue, that we deſire nothing, but for the Sa- ction and Pleaſure we hope to take in its oyment, that it often happens, we have t Goods, in their kind, without enjoying leaſt Satisfaction in them; eſpecially, when re ignorant of their Value. Of this Truth, have a very lively Inſtance in Hiſtory, which us, that a *Swiſſer*, being preſent at the fa- s Defeat of the *Bourguignons* at *Granſon*, d, under a Cart-Wheel, the Duke's great mond, richly ſet in a little enamel'd Caſe, n'd with the moſt exquiſite Jewels, and ught with ſuch Art, as was admir'd by the Skilful. There was, beſides, at the End

A comparison of a Swiſſer.

of the Caſe, a Pearl of ſuch an extraordin
Size and Beauty, that it was ſufficient of it
to make the *Swiſſer*'s Fortune; but he did
know its Value, no more than of the Caſe, a
Diamond, which laſt was look'd upon as
fineſt, the largeſt, and richeſt in all *Chriſtend*
Wherefore, the Poſſeſſion of a thing ſo p
cious, and indeed invaluable, gave him but a
ry indifferent Satisfaction, ſince his groſs Ig
rance made him prefer a Florin of Ten Sol
that rich Booty.

But tho' it may ſometimes happen, that
poſſeſſes a great Good, without a Taſte of
Pleaſure, becauſe he is ignorant of the Va
of it; it cannot, therefore, be alledg'd, t
one may alſo ſometimes enjoy a true Pleaſ
without a true Good. It only follows, that
Contentment is by ſo much the more ſolid
perfect, by how much the Goods we are p
ſeſs'd of are greater, and we know the V
and Perfections of them. Hence 'tis eaſy
perceive, how much *Epicurus* was in the wr
for ſpeaking of the Happineſs or Felicity
this Life, without putting himſelf to the Tr
ble of ſhewing the Sovereign Good, wh
may produce that Happineſs in ſuch as po
it. For, as there can be no other than V
tue, and he has taught none, Men have th
taken Occaſion to ſay, that he did not te
Vertue. And becauſe the Word Pleaſure, w
he made uſe of to ſignify his Happineſs, is
metrically oppoſite to Vertue, and 'tis c
mary to attribute it to falſe Pleaſures,
have gone farther yet, and given out, tha
abandon'd Vertue, to follow and preach
Vice.

N

Now, there is no Man of good Senſe, but ges, that neither of theſe Two Ideas, which peculiar to thoſe Two Opinions, is other- ſe imperfect, than as they do not ſeparate- repreſent any more than One of the Two ential Parts whereof *True Happineſs* is com- d. For, *Zeno*'s Vertue, that is, the Vigour Firmneſs of Reſolution, which induces us follow, in all things, that which Reaſon ap- ves as moſt convenient; neither renders us re content, nor more happy, when it is ſe- rated from the Pleaſure and inward Joy, ich fills our Deſires; I mean, when it is not ompany'd with *Epicurus*'s Pleaſure or Hap- eſs, which, on the other hand, cannot but very falſe and imperfect, without the Sove- gn Good, or, in other Terms, without *Ze-* Vertue, which ought to produce it. Thus, need only marry thoſe Two Opinions, and 'em together, to form the moſt perfect complete Idea of our Happineſs, which iſts in the Accompliſhment of our Deſires ulated by Reaſon, and fill'd with the Poſ- ion of the greateſt of all the Goods expe- nt for us, and which we are capable of ac- ring by our Conduct: For, this Idea is then perfect, and in ſo natural a State, that as n as it preſents itſelf to the Mind, it makes enſible of Happineſs, and the Methods ch every one may make uſe of to acquire it himſelf; which may be reduced to Two ings: The firſt is, always to exert the ut- t Efforts of the Mind, to know ones Duty; the other, always to remain firm and inva- le in the Reſolution to diſcharge it, as of- as Reaſon ſhall inſpire us with the Know-

ledge thereof. In a word, our Happineſs de pends on the right Uſe of our Reaſon, a the Regulation of our Will; that is, on t Liberty of our Thoughts.

THUS thoſe Two Powers of our Soul, tog ther with the Liberty of uſing them as pleaſe, being the Principles of all our Actio and Behaviour, 'tis impoſſible to underſta them aright, before we ſeek the Methods n ceſſary for acquiring the right Uſe thereof, which our Happineſs conſiſts; that is, alwa to uſe our Reaſon, in ſuch a manner, that may not be deceiv'd in its Judgments, nor t Will ever be turn'd from deſiring what th wiſe Director adviſes.

That Ariſtotle's Opinion of the Nature of the Soul, is obſcure and dangerous.

'TIS apparent, that the Opinion moſt co monly receiv'd in the World, concerning t Nature of the Soul, is that of *Ariſtotle*; whi is nevertheleſs dangerous and obſcure. T ought not to ſurprize us, ſince he himſelf declared, that he did not intend to ren himſelf intelligible in thoſe Writings, which calls *Acroamaticks*, and which contain all th he ſays of the Nature of the Soul. *Alexan* having complain'd to him, one day, of as mu as he had then made Publick: *Know, my Prin* anſwer'd *Ariſtotle*, *that my Sentiments are p liſh'd, and that they are not ſo. I have publi them in ſuch a manner, that I need not f their being perceiv'd, if I do not diſcover them ſelf, with my own Mouth.*

Of the Ingratitude of Brutus *towards* Ceſar.

SELF-LOVE often makes Men ungrate as well as the Love of Liberty. Impatient Dependence, it cannot bear with the Super rity of a Benefactor. Witneſs the Behavio of *Brutus* towards *Ceſar*. He made it meri

ri

us to ſacrifice the Sentiment of *Gratitude* to t of *Liberty*. The *Kindneſſes* he had receiv'd ame *Injuries*, as ſoon as he began to look on them as *Chains*; And to ſum up all in one ord, he thought he might kill a Benefactor, o was like to be his Maſter. A Crime abo- nable upon all Accounts; but eſpecially, with ſpect to *Gratitude*. And yet, an admirable rtue, according to the Judgment of Politi- ns, with reſpect to the Partiſans of *Li- ty*.

That neither Pleaſure, nor Wiſdom, is of Advantage againſt Pain and Death.

'Tis the Opinion of ſome, and eſpecially, the Men of the World, that Fortune, Love, aſure, Glory, being well underſtood, and htly managed, are great Helps againſt the gours of Nature, and the Miſeries which ompany, and are twiſted with, our Lives. us they believe, alſo, that *Wiſdom* was given m, on purpoſe to manage their *Pleaſures*; as conſiderable as it is, they find it of very le Uſe, amidſt tormenting Pains and Ago- s, and at the Approach of Death. The wer of Philoſophy made *Poſſidonius* cry out, the Height of his Gout, that *the Gout was an Evil*; but what did he ſuffer leſs for t? The Wiſdom of *Socrates* enabled him pronounce abundance of excellent Argu- nts at his Death; but they ſeem'd ſo uncer- n, that they neither perſuaded his Friends, himſelf, of what he ſaid. He wanted a re perfect and clearer Knowledge, than t which he had attain'd to by his Philo- phy.

A remarkable Example of the Folly and Prejudice of the People.

In the Year 1665, there came to *London*, m *Ireland*, a kind of Worker of Miracles, med *Valentine Greaterick*, who pretended to cure

Mr. Stubs, *an* English *Physician, has written a Book of this Man's surprizing Cures.*

cure all sorts of Distempers, only by touchin the Diseased. Monsieur *de Cominges*, then Am bassador of *France*, had the Curiosity, for h own and his Friends Satisfaction, to send fo him to his House, where, what with the Cu rious, what with the Sick, was a vast Crow of People. His Design was, to examine hi thorowly as to his Skill; but he was disap pointed by the great Concourse of Infirm Pe ple, who flock'd thither to be cured. This Pro phet-Impostor attributed all manner of Disea to evil *Spirits*; and pronounced those *possest* who labour'd under any Infirmity. The fir that was presented to him, was a Man gri vously afflicted with the Gout and Rhumatism whereupon, he said, that they were Wate Spirits, which brought Colds, and caus'd th Humours to overflow in these miserable Bo dies. Then he conjur'd the Evil Spirit, wh had quitted his Abode in the Waters, and th afflicted that poor Body, to abandon his ne Habitation, and return to his old one.

Hypocondriack, or Sick in Fancy.

AFTERWARDS, they presented to him ano ther, who was tormented with melancholy Va pours; whereupon the *Irishman* said as follow *Ætherial Spirit, return into the Air, to exerci thy Skill in Tempests, and raise no more Winds this sad and unhappy Body.* The Sick Man ha ving made room for another, said the Prophe *This Sort of Spirit afflicts but seldom, and is almo always diverting.* He would insinuate, that was all-knowing in the Affair of Spirits. H knew their Number, Orders, Names, Office and all the Functions to which they were ap pointed. Nay, he boasted, that he was bett acquain

cquainted with the Intrigues of the Devils, han with the Affairs of Mankind.

His Reputation loſt.

THE Fellow having thus gain'd an incredible Reputation, as if the Power of Heaven were in his Hands, an unforeſeen Adventure threw him, all of a ſudden, from his high Pinnacle of Publick Fame. It was occaſion'd by the unexpected Arrival of a Gentleman and his Wife out of the Country, to ſeek for Succour in his Vertue, againſt certain Spirits of Diſcord, which diſturb'd their Tranquillity. The Gentleman was about 45 Years of Age, and look'd like a Perſon of Birth and Fortune. His Wife, who was about 35, handſome and well-ſhap'd, ſtung with the Impatience natural to her Sex, would needs ſpeak firſt, and thus began: *I have a very honeſt Man to my Husband, whom, nevertheleſs, I frequently grieve; nor does he fail to torment me, in his Turn. Fain wou'd I live happily with him, and ſhould, no doubt, always do ſo, were it not that a ſtrange Spirit, of which I find myſelf, at certain Times, poſſeſs'd, renders me ſo furious and intolerable, that there's no bearing with me. My Tranſports ceas'd, I recover my native Sweetneſs of Temper; and then I forget nothing of Careful and Agreeable, to oblige and pleaſe my Spouſe: But his Devil immediately poſſeſſes him, as ſoon as ever mine ceaſes; and the Husband, who has ſo much Patience during my Extaſy, has nothing but Fury for my Reaſon.* Next comes the Gentleman, and—*Whatever Occaſion of Complaint I have*, ſaid he, *againſt my Wife's Devil, I am the leſs obliged to utter it, for that he has not taught her to lye; and, I muſt confeſs, ſhe has ſaid nothing, but what is very true. All the Time that ſhe ſeems to me to be bewitch'd, I am patient;*

but

but as soon as her Spirit lets her alone, mine a tates me in his Turn; and with fresh Courage, redoubled Strength, by which I find myself anim ted, I make her know, in the most sensible man possible, the Dependence of a Wife, and the Su riority of a Husband. Thus our Lives are sp in doing, or suffering Evil; whereby our Condi is render'd worse, than that of the poorest Cou living. These, Sir, *are our Grievances; and 'tis possible to redress 'em, I conjure you to do The Cure of a Distemper so odd as ours, will ma no small Addition to your Credit.*

THESE *are neither Fairies, nor Familiars,* sa the *Irishman; but Spirits of the first Rank, and* Lucifer's *own Legion; proud Devils, great En mies to Obedience, and very difficult to drive o You will not take it amiss,* Gentlemen, (turni himself to the Assembly) *that I look a little i my Books; for, I have need of extraordinary Wo* He litt of a Form capable, in his Opinion, confounding all the Devils in Hell. The fir Effect of the Conjuration was wrought upo himself. His Eyes roll'd in his Head, and h made so many Grimaces and wry Faces, tha he seem'd himself possess'd, to those who cam to seek Relief against being possess'd. Afte having turn'd his gastly Eyes all manner o ways, he fix'd them upon the Gentleman an his Wife, and striking them with a little Stick *Be gone, ye Devils you,* said he; *Be gone, ye Spi rits of Dissension, and exercise your Discord i Hell. Let the happy Union which you have wicked ly broke, be re-establish'd by your Departure.* There upon, clapping his Ear to those of the pre tended Possess'd, he continu'd thus: *I hear yo murmur, ye Devils, at the Obedience you hav*

bee

n forced to render me; but it ſignifies nothing; you muſt. Go, Be gone. And you, my Friends, and enjoy, with Pleaſure, the Repoſe you have been deprived of. I have done their Buſineſs, ntlemen; but, I ſwear, I am all in a Sweat with Pains I have been at to expel theſe obſtinate De-ls. I believe, I have had to do with 2000 *Spi-ts in my Life-time, who all together have not given ſo much Trouble as theſe.*

THE good Couple return'd home, with a tisfaction more wonderful than the Miracle ſt wrought in their Favour. All now ap-ar'd very agreeable there, by a Change of irit, which gave their Senſes a new Diſpo-tion. They had always a ſmiling Air, and ok'd upon themſelves with Pleaſure and De-ght. But how fading and tranſient are em- *A good Re-flexion.*
y Pleaſures! and how apt are Men, born to miſerable, to rejoice upon the leaſt Happi-eſs that befals 'em! Thus ſweet was their tuation, when a Lady of their Acquaintance me to congratulate them upon it. As the onverſation ran upon the Manner wherein e Cure had been perform'd, the Husband, laſt, took upon him to ſay, that they had lk'd too long of Things paſt, the Remem-rance whereof was very diſagreeable to him; dding, that in the happy State they had now cover'd, ſhe ought to make it her Buſineſs to ay him the Obedience of a Wife, as he, for his art, would endeavour to make a lawful Uſe f his Privileges, in order to render their Con-ition as happy for the Time to come, as it ad till then been unfortunate. The Gentle-oman taking Snuff at the Word *Obedience*, and oore, that he had order'd her to *hold her*

Tongue,

Tongue, forgot nothing to bring their Ma
riage upon the Level; assuring her Husban
that *the Devils were not gone so far, but that th
might be recall'd, in case he offer'd to violate th
Equality.* And thus she became more intol
rable than ever.

The Gentleman pass'd the rest of the Da
and the whole Night, in his Chamber; asham
of the Joy he had conceiv'd, and of his prese
Grief; and perplex'd with dismal Apprehen
sions for the Time to come. But as his Wife
Agitation had been violent, she soon recover
her Senses, and made cruel Reflexions upo
the Loss of the Sweets she found herself d
priv'd of. As soon as it was Day, she went t
see her Spouse; imputed all her past Disorder
to a strange Power, which had nothing of Na
tural or Humane; and propos'd to him, to re
turn to the *Irishman*, and demand a stronge
and more effectual Conjuration. The poo
Gentleman, reduced by Sorrow, and not abl
to resent an Injury, was extremely glad t
find her so good-humour'd. Her kind Retur
touch'd him so sensibly, that with an extraor
dinary Tenderness, he cry'd out; *Let us lamen
our common Misfortunes, and, once more, seek th
Remedy, which, at first Search, we could not find.*
His Wife was agreeably surpriz'd at this Dis
course, having, instead of a mischievous Devil
met with a tender Husband, who comforte
her upon the Ill she had done, and he had suf
fer'd.

They return'd, therefore, to the *Irishman*
who no sooner perceiv'd them, but he call'd
them to give an Account of the Miracles h
had wrought upon them, and of the almighty
Vertue

ertue which had deliver'd them from the rievous Slavery under which they groan'd. hereupon, the Gentlewoman immediately re-ly'd, that they could give no other Account, han of the Obſtinacy of the Devils, and not f his Vertue; and, that ſince his curious Ope-ation, they had been ſpitefully tormented with reater Violence than ever. This put the *Iriſh-an* into ſuch a Paſſion, that he began to abuſe em, and call 'em Incredulous, and Ungrateful, or malicioufly concealing the Good he had one them. Then, to convict them of Ma-ice or Incredulity, he caus'd them to approach im, and having examin'd all the Features of heir Faces, and obſerv'd their Looks, he told hem, they were in the right, and that the De-ils were not yet diſlodg'd. Afterwards, he hus addreſs'd 'em; *Quit, O curſed Race, an Ha-itation of Repoſe, too pleaſant for you; and go trem-le for ever, in the Places where dwell Horrour, and ate, and Deſpair*; and ſo diſmiſs'd 'em, bid-ing 'em not come again, for that they were ow deliver'd.

THUS they went home again, fully per-uaded of the Truth of what had been told hem, and that they now ſaw the End of all heir Misfortunes. That Day ſeem'd to them ike that of their Wedding; and they expect-d the Night to be agreeable thereto. It came, ut did not well anſwer their Deſires. Too uch Love makes Lovers aſham'd of them-elves. The Gentlewoman laid the Blame up-on the innocent Spirits; and look'd upon the Prophet, who was ſo famous, as a poor *Teague-under* only, who had not the Vertue to con-ure down a Jack-in-a-Lantern. She, who ac-

cus'd

cus'd him, when he was most innocent, justify'd him on this Occasion, chooſing rather to attribute his Want of Vigour to the Want of Charms in her, than to look upon a real Defect, for ever deſtructive of her Pleaſures.

The Wife, not much edify'd, ſoon recall'd to her Mind the Malice of the Devils, and turn'd the Confuſion ſpitefully againſt the *Irishman*; reſolving to prove him an Impoſtor, and thereby undeceive the Publick. With this Deſign, they both return'd, for the third time, to their old Phyſician, whom they found at Monſieur *d'Aubigny*'s at St. *James*'s, where he then play'd his Tricks, as he had before done at Monſieur *de Cominges*'s, and ſeveral other Places.

The *Irishman*'s Power over Spirits was become ſo great, that a bare Notion of Health had made the Sick forget their Diſtempers; and Imagination, which was full as ſtrong in the Curious, as in the Sick, gave ſome a falſe View from the Deſire of ſeeing; as it did others a falſe Cure from their Eagerneſs to be heal'd. Nothing was talk'd of, but this Man's Prodigies, ſupported with ſo great an Authority, that the aſtoniſh'd Multitude receiv'd them with Submiſſion, while Men of Senſe durſt not reject them, out of Knowledge. A fearful and enſlav'd Knowledge reverenced imperious and authoriz'd Errour. The Soul was feeble where the Judgment was ſound; and ſuch as ſaw through the imaginary Cures, durſt not declare their Sentiments to a prejudic'd and bewitch'd People.

Thus triumph'd the *Irishman*, when the Gentleman and his Wife, preſſing thro' the Crowd, came to reproach him. The Gentle-

woma

oman ask'd him publickly, if he was not a-
m'd to abuſe the Ignorance of the credulous
ltitude, by boaſting of a Power which he
d not; that he had commanded their Devils
let them alone, and, inſtead of that, they
d ſtill tormented them worſe than ever; that
had order'd 'em to be gone, but that they
re obſtinately reſolv'd to tarry, in ſpite of
Orders, equally ſcoffing at their fooliſh
edulity, and his ridiculous Impotency. The
sband back'd theſe Reproaches with the
ateſt Diſdain, telling him, he did not ſo
ch as deſerve the Name of an *Impoſtor*; ſince
it was neceſſary for Impoſture, and he had
ne at all.

THE Prophet, perceiving he had loſt the
thority which render'd him venerable, and
e formidable Power eſtabliſh'd in a ſuperſti-
us Subjection of Mens Minds, remain'd dumb,
thout anſwering one Word. No ſooner had
ople the Boldneſs, not to acknowledge him,
t he was reduced to Nothing, and preſently
k out of the Houſe by a Back-door. The
ople ſtood confounded and mortify'd; and
onſieur *d'Aubigny* placed this *Iriſhman* in the
nk of a great many others, whom he had
min'd in vain.

AT laſt, every body retir'd, aſham'd of ha-
g ſuffer'd themſelves to be abus'd, and for-
they had loſt their Errour. The marry'd
uple enjoy'd the Sweets of Victory with
ory and Triumph.

THERE have appear'd in *London*, of late *Other falſe Prophets.*
ars, certain miſerable Wretches, who came
m the *Cevennes*, and, at the Inſtigation of a
Perſons who join'd 'em, pretended to ſet
them-

themſelves up for Prophets. They were, firſt, taken for ignorant, well-meaning Peop eſpecially for the Account they gave of the m raculous Things which Providence had wrou in favour of thoſe poor People, who were m ſacred and perſecuted in their own Count But as it appear'd, that they took upon 'em propheſy, and form Aſſemblies, wherein th pretended to utter Oracles, after a thouſ wry Faces and affected Enthuſiaſms, follow by the moſt extravagant Follies, highly ſcan lous to Religion; Care was taken to undece the People, who are oftentimes too ready run after ſuch Novelties.

Of the Docility of the Mind; and of Merit.

Merit does not always make its Impreſſ upon the Minds of the moſt vertuous M Every one is jealous of his own, and can eaſily endure another's. A mutual Compl ſance ordinarily reconciles Wills; but as this Method we give as much as we rece the Pleaſure of being flatter'd is oftenti dearly bought, by the Pains we are at to f ter others. But he that is pleas'd to m himſelf an Approver, and never troubles hi ſelf to be approved, ſeems to lay a double O ligation, as well in reſpect of the Praiſe gives, as of the Approbation he diſpenſes wi al. 'Tis a great Secret, in familiar Conve to turn Men, as far as may be with Honour, the Love of themſelves.

The Jeſuites have excited cruel Wars.

Such as ſhall conſider, in cold Blood, w has paſs'd in *Europe*, for almoſt an Age p will readily agree, that moſt of the Wars our Time, and that of our Fathers, were caſion'd by the turbulent and ambitious S rit of the *Jeſuites*. Witneſs the dreadful W wh

which broke out in *Germany*, upon Account of the Edict or Decree publiſh'd by the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. for the Reſtitution of the Goods of the Church; which was done at the Inſtigation of the *Jeſuite William Lamormain*, his Confeſſor. We know the Part they have had in the Perſecution of *France*; the dreadful Conſequences of Father *Peters*'s Advice to King *James* II. and the Complaints of the Malecontents of *Hungary*, thoſe Eſtates they enjoy, and are the Cauſe of their Wars with the Emperor.

That Vice often deceives under the Mask of Vertue; and Precipitation is the Source of Errours.

Experience teaches us, that the Love of Truth is not ſufficient to make Men wiſe, no more than their Inclination to Good is, to make them vertuous. Evil frequently borrows the Countenance of Good, as Falſhood diſguiſes it ſelf under the Appearance of Truth; ſo that 'tis eaſy to take one for the other ſometimes, and very difficult not to be deceiv'd therein, unleſs we take eſpecial Care to diſcern that Errour and Diſguiſe; becauſe the Will, which naturally induces Men to ſearch after thoſe two Perfections, does not always give 'em leiſure to conſult, when they think they perceive them in any Object. The Impatience of acquiring them, makes us ſuffer ourſelves to be carry'd away by the leaſt Glimmering; and we precipitately graſp at every thing that bears never ſo little Reſemblance thereto. Thus we may reaſonably conclude, that the Want of Attention, or rather the Precipitation, with which Men determine their Will, upon the leaſt Appearance of Things, is the true Source of all the Errours in the Sciences, and generally, of all the Faults which they commit in the Subjects they treat of, and the Affairs they

handle. We need only examine the Proceed-
ings of most Men, in their Search after Truth,
to be perſuaded, that the very *Deſire* of know-
ing it, hinders 'em from ever knowing it: For
out of a too great Eagerneſs to ſatisfy the na-
tural Deſire they have for the Sciences, they
accidentally imbibe, from their Youth, Opi-
nions and Maxims, which are no otherwise
good, but becauſe they are receiv'd by the
greateſt Number; And, as if they were afraid
to loſe Time in examining them, Men ſuppoſe
'em to be true, upon the Word and Authority
of thoſe who invented them: Afterwards, they
are implanted in the Soul, and written on the
raſa Tabula, as ſo many Articles of Faith, with-
out ever ſtanding the Teſt of Reaſon's Scru-
ny. On the contrary, whatever its Evidence
would oppoſe to ſuch an imprudent Belief, is
rejected with Scorn; and Men defend, with
Obſtinacy, Things obſcure and ſcarce intel-
gible, without troubling themſelves any fur-
ther, than to ſpeak the Language of thoſe
whom they believe to have a right Notion of
them.

How Errour is maintain'd and multiply'd.

HENCE it is, that Errour goes from one
t'other, and finds Reception in the Minds of
ſuch, as don't deſire to know the Truth, but
by other Mens Lights. This Want of Atten-
tion to our Thoughts and Judgments, clearly
evinces, that tho' we cannot charge the Will
with any Defect in its Nature, by reaſon it in-
cites us to whatever the Mind repreſents to it
as a Good convenient for it; we may, at leaſt
condemn it for abuſing its Liberty, as it does
and for the Defect which appears in its Man-
of Proceeding, when it ſuffers itſelf to be
du-

duced by the leaſt Appearances, againſt the Laws of Reaſon, which does not permit any one to give his Conſent to Things, before it has examin'd 'em with the Strictneſs and Attention neceſſary for the forming of his Judgment. And thus, the Maxims of Morality, which teach us, that Good is ſo natural to Mankind, that they never loſe their Affection for it, and that their Will cannot ſuffer Evil without Violence; do not hinder them from attributing to *it* alone, all the Faults and Errours, which are generally committed in all the Actions of Life; nor more, that it may ſtill be truly ſaid, that the Will freely does that which it would not: For, there is a conſiderable Difference between willing to be deceiv'd, and willing to give ones Conſent to Things, which don't preſent themſelves to the Mind with Evidence enough to be judg'd of with Security. 'Tis well known, that nobody is expreſly willing to be deceiv'd; but we know too, that there is no Man, but is willing ſometimes to give his Conſent to Perceptions, that are obſcure and confus'd, rather than ſuſpend his Judgment, with all the Attention neceſſary for the rendring them juſt and equitable.

AND, therefore, it is evident, that it may be truly ſaid, the Will is the only Author of the Faults and Errours it deteſts; and that it does not the Good it would, but on the contrary, does the Evil it would not do. This is what St. *Auſtin* ſays of thoſe who ſin thro' Ignorance: *They do their Actions*, ſays he, *only because they are willing to do them; tho' they ſin without being willing to ſin: And conſequently, the Sin of Ignorance itſelf cannot be committed, but*

Non quod volo bonum hoc ago, ſed quod odi malum hoc facio; Aug. Lib. i. Retract. Cap. 15.

by the Will of him that commits it; but by a W which incites him to the Action, and not to the Si which does not, however, hinder the Action fr being a Sin; becauſe to make it ſo, it ſuffices, th a Man has done that which he was obliged to do.

But how comes it about, that we do th which we are obliged not to do, but becau the Will is too haſtily determin'd in the Thin where it is in danger of being ſurpriz'd, as n being yet ſufficiently enlightned by Reaſon; elſe becauſe, exceeding the Limits of its Jur diction, it induces us to judge of thoſe ve Things, which infinitely ſurpaſs the Reach Humane Underſtanding? For, the Inordina neſs of the Will, and ſinful Engagements, not only proceed from the Precipitation of t Mind, or from the Want of Attention to t Appearances of Things which Reaſon ought give us a Knowledge of, before we follow the but alſo, from the raſh and preſumptuous E forts we make to carry it, oftentimes, to Thin above its Reach. 'Tis even obſervable, th we more eaſily recover the Faults committ for Want of Attention, than the Errours wh we incur, by deſiring to judge of Things wh have no Relation, nor Proportion, with th which is finite and limited, as the Mind of Ma becauſe it is poſſible, one may find Ways a Means to diſpoſe himſelf to know better at c time, than at another, with regard to Things which are within the Extent of, a comprehenſible by, Reaſon: But it is altog ther impoſſible for us to acquire, of ourſelv greater Lights, with reſpect to ſuch as infini ly ſurpaſs Reaſon.

'Tis upon this ſcore, that we find it ſo hard to remove the Difficulties and Doubts, which have, in all times, ariſen, upon the Subject of Liberty, when Men have gone about to reconcile the Independence, which every one perceives and experiences within himſelf, with the Preſcience and Predeſtination of GOD. For, without having due Regard to the Weakneſs of Humane Underſtanding, they have been pleas'd to make uſe of it, to meaſure the Extent of GOD's infinite Power, whereby he knows and ordains, from all Eternity, whatſoever is, or can be; and afterwards, to dive into the Secrets of his wonderful Providence, whoſe Orders are always infallible, tho' without giving our Liberty any manner of Diſturbance.

Example of a King's forbidding Duels,

'Twill not be amiſs, to relate here, the Compariſon made uſe of by Monſieur *Des Cartes*, in a Letter he wrote to the Princeſs-*Palatine*, to endeavour to repreſent this inconceivable Harmony of the Almighty Power with our Wills: *If a King*, ſays he, *who has forbidden Duels, knows for certain, that Two Gentlemen, in diſtant Places of his Kingdom, are fallen out, and are abſolutely reſov'd to fight each other the next time they meet; and if he gives one of 'em a Commiſſion to go, at ſuch a time, to the very Place, where he knows they will infallibly meet; there is no Doubt, but he knows aſſuredly alſo, that they will not fail to fight, and conſequently, to diſobey his Commands. But, can it be therefore alledg'd, that the King forces them to it? Does his Knowledge, even his Will to determine them ſo to do, hinder them from fighting as freely and voluntarily in this Encounter, as they would do in another; or the King from punishing them as juſtly, for diſobeying his*

Commands? Now, the ſame thing as a Sove-reign may do, in reſpect of certain free Action of his Subjects, GOD, who is a GOD o infinite Power and Preſcience, undoubtedl does, in relation to all the Actions of Me Before we were, He knew exactly what all th Inclinations of our Will would be; He it was that implanted them within us; He, who di ſpos'd all Things without us; upon which Ac count, he knew, that our Free-Will would de termine us to ſuch or ſuch Things: And h did not only know it, but he will'd it too, fro all Eternity, tho' he did not therefore will t force us to them. And as we may diſcern i the King, above-mention'd, two Degrees Will; One whereby he will'd, that the tw Gentlemen ſhould fight; for he made the meet; the Other, whereby he will'd not, ſinc he forbad Duels: Juſt ſo, Divines diſcern tw Wills in GOD; One abſolute and independen whereby he wills that all Things ſhould hap pen, as they do; and the Other Relative, th is, anſwerable to Mens Merit or Demeri whereby he wills his Laws to be obey'd.

THIS Diſtinction proves, how far it is law ful to think, that all Things are alike ſubje to the abſolute Power and Will of GOD; an that the very Actions of our Will are not e empted from that Subjection, tho' we canno therefore doubt of our Liberty.

That the Renown' Men run after, is altogether vain.

THERE be Perſons, in the World, ſo ve tuous, and agreeable, that their Converſatio attracts the Love and Admiration of all th enjoy it. They gain over, even their En mies, to their Party. One muſt be inſenſible the laſt Degree, to reſiſt the Charms of the

Di

diſcourſe, and not ſuccomb to the Sweetneſs of their Nature. Mean time, we ſee, there are envious alſo, who make uſe of all their Malice, to ruin the Others, and, by their Cunning and Credit, ſtop the Courſe of the Eſteem they had ſo juſtly acquired to themſelves. A Man of Honour, who reflects upon the Vanity and Inconſtancy of any Eſteem, which, with abundance of Care and Pains, he may have gain'd; and who, amidſt the Applauſes Men give to his Felicity, does yet retain a juſt Senſe of his Miſeries; muſt needs feel Uneaſineſs and Inquietudes, when they cry up his Advantages, and that which ſeems to compoſe his Happineſs. Hiſtory repreſents to us a *Veſpaſian*, who, midſt the greateſt Splendor and Magnificence, grew weary of the tedious Triumph, and acknowledg'd the Vanity of the Glory he was flatter'd with; He was chagrin and melancholy, even in the Feſtivals ſolemniz'd to thank the Gods for his Succeſs and Happineſs. Did not the Great and Formidable *Guſtavus-Adolphus* deſpiſe the Acclamations of the People, and reject the Panegyricks of the Orators? The Duke *de Candale*, Son of the great Duke *d'Epernon*, whoſe Death was univerſally lamented by all good Men, had a deadly Averſion for the Eſteem ſo eagerly contended for by Courtiers. And does not this convince us, that the Glory and Reputation, which fills the Minds of ſo many Perſons, is, at the bottom, vain and empty? depends not ſo much on us, as on Fortune? is ſubject to its Caprice? and is, indeed, a Sound which ſtrikes the Ear, but ought never juſtly to affect a great Soul?

That Reflexion and Foresight are necessary in all States and Conditions.

It were to be wish'd, that Men would re flect more than they do, on the Misfortun and Disgraces, which *may* befal 'em; to th end that, thro' a wise Foresight, they migh not be so cast down and surpriz'd, when the *do* come. Let a happy Courtier have his Prince Favour, and enjoy the Sweets of his Felicity but let the Example of Others Falls preva with Him to mistrust the Firmness of his ow Footing; Neither ought he, because he is the Top of the Wheel, to be always lookin upwards; but sometimes to cast his Eye dow to the Place, whence he began to rise, and co sider the first Degree of his Fortune, as a Pr cipice, into which he is, every Moment, liab to fall. Let not a General of an Army pr mise himself the Command for ever, nor val himself upon the Glory for which he is indebte as much to the Assistance of his Troops, as his own Valour. One short day may decide h Fortune. But then, lest, after the Loss of Battle, he who before beheld himself surroun ed with so many arm'd Men, should think hi self also lost with them; he must command, r cover, and still possess, himself. Let a Prin rely, but with Reason, on his Empire; a let not the Obedience of such Numbers of M rashly flatter his Self-Love. Within the Spa of four and twenty Hours, Kings have be seen upon the Throne, and at the Cart's Ta In a few days, the same Prince was seen Tr umphing, and carry'd in Triumph. The R volt of his People, or the Loss of a Battle, m snatch his Crown from his Head, and put h Scepter into the Hand of a Foreigner. But is not the Loss of the Blessings of Life onl th

at we ought to be prepar'd againſt; for, there e a great many other Trials of our Conſtan- . Our own, and the Death of our Friends, es ſtill more nearly concern us. We ought, erefore, to expect this with greater Prepara- on, than the bare Privation of all outward hings, which ought to be indifferent to wiſe en. The Day and Moment we ſhall die in, very like that we are now ſpending. Not Hour paſſes, but ſomebody loſes a Friend. e cannot be Spectators of the Diſorders of r Country, without reflecting upon the Pride Oppreſſors, and conceiving a violent Aver- n againſt them. A ſecret Laſſitude, which better felt than expreſs'd, ſometimes ſeizes r Spirits; It lies down with us, and awakes, d riſes with us; It accompanies us at our eals, and follows us in our Walk: We bear with us in Company, and in Solitude; y, when once it has grappled us, it never ves us, till it has exhauſted its whole Strength on us. What Remedy for ſo numerous ils, but a juſt Reflexion, and due Prepara- n; ſuch as our Reaſon dictates to us, con- rmably to our Duty?

A Reflexion upon Pleaſures.

All the different Employments of Men in World, tend only to their Profit and their aſure; but People, moſt commonly, pervert e Means they make uſe of to obtain that d. Hence it is, that generally their Appli- ion and Endeavours have a quite contrary e to what they expect. Life itſelf would tireſome and inſipid, if it had not its Plea- es and Amuſements. The Difficulty lies in htly taking, and ſeaſoning them. There is ſort of Men, who always regret paſt Plea-

ſures,

ſures, and cannot content themſelves wit
thoſe which are preſent. But is it not a Foll
to deſire to be again in the Places we ha
quitted, and to ſtrive to be preſent in ſuch
we cannot yet poſſibly reach? If the Pleaſur
of the Country are different from thoſe of t
Town and Court, we muſt endeavour to reco
cile ourſelves to one as well as the other, a
to diſcourſe with ourſelves, when we have n
the Opportunity of Company to do it with
Cato, after having been buſy, the whole da
in the Service of the Republick, diverted hi
ſelf with Children; and the greateſt Wits di
dain not to hear the Stories of their Vale
after the moſt ſerious Diſcourſes. But if, b
Conſtraint, or Inclination, we make our R
treat into the Country; we may ceaſe, ther
to admire the Works of Man, and contempla
thoſe of our great Creator, and the Wonde
of Nature. Let us baniſh there, the Sentimen
of Pride, and the gaudy Pageantry of the Cour
and enjoy the harmleſs Sweets of a Solita
Life. Men may live any where content, pro
vided they only know how to change Pleaſure
as they change Places. Neither the Bounds
of Solitude, nor even the narrower Limits
a Priſon, can hinder the Wiſe Man from en
joying a perfect Tranquillity within. There
he can meditate, and comfort himſelf with th
agreeable Remembrance of his good Action
and with charming Reflexions upon his Inno
cence. The moſt barbarous *Tyrants* cannot
find *Dungeons* for our *Souls*. Nay, they cannot
ſo much as become their Maſters, unleſs we our
ſelves have a mind to make them ſo. Thei
Chains can by no means bind our Souls; which
where

ereſoever our Bodies are confin'd, neither ange Place, nor Dwelling. Contentments are ery where to be had; but ought to be enjoy'd ith Moderation. Be Pleaſures never ſo inno- nt in themſelves; yet, taken to Exceſs, they e always criminal and blameable. Exceſs ens a Door to Infamy and Torment. He at loſes his Reputation by Debauchery, often ſes his Health alſo, and ſtabs his Conſtitu- on, as deep as his Honour. Let a good Man amine into the State of his Conſcience, and joice, that he finds neither Remorſe, nor orment, at the Bottom of his Heart. Let m that enjoys his Health, take Delight in re- ecting on his Happineſs; and let the Thoughts ſuffering nothing, amidſt ſuch a Number of inful Objects as ſurround him, fill him with ontent and Satisfaction. Let him chear him- lf up with the good Chances that have befal- n him, as ſo many Misfortunes he has eſca- ed. Let the Pleaſure he taſtes, and the Pain does not endure, equally contribute to give m freſh Satisfaction. Let that ignoble, en- ous Paſſion, that infamous Motion, which ves a Damp to Pleaſures, be baniſh'd his eart, that he may have the peaceable En- yment of his Pleaſures, in their greateſt Pu- ty.

The Womens Picture, according to Petronius.

Petronius, ſpeaking of the natural In- ination of the Generality of Women to in- re with Love, and of their Deſire to be be- d; and proceeding afterwards to reflect on e Facility with which they engage themſelves new Paſſions, and the Fickleneſs with which ey again acquit themſelves; introduces *Eu- lpis*, as a Man, who had never had any

Affection

Affection for the Sex, nor pretended to t
Diſcretion, which obliges Men of Breeding
conceal what they think of them. But, as
had a great deal of Wit, and the Matter w
copious enough, he ſaid a hundred pleaſi
Things, to prove, that the Women are ne
tender, but out of Weakneſs or Caprice; n
ver faithful, but for Intereſt or Fear; Th
Coquetry is the Main of their Humour, a
their Vertue nothing but a Cloak to hide th
Coquetry; That their Souls are no leſs dawb
with Paint than their Faces; That there
Artifice in all their Words, and in moſt
their Actions; eſpecially in their Tears; Th
theſe are the greateſt Fetch they make uſe
to deceive the Men; And laſtly, that by wh
he had ſeen, he ſhould always ſuſpect thoſe w
wept for the Loſs of their Lovers, or the De
of their Husbands. Thereupon, he begins t
Hiſtory of the Matron of *Epheſus*, whoſe Ve
tue and Beauty were admired by all *Greece*. H
Spouſe was well worthy her; they lov'd e
other tenderly; and that Love render'd th
both happy. But their Happineſs was n
long-liv'd; Death ſoon ſtopt the Courſe
their Felicity, which the whole World loo
upon with Envy. She ſeem'd ſo ſenſible of h
Loſs, that after it ſhe gave extraordinary Ma
of her Grief. Neither Relations, nor Friend
nor Magiſtrates, could rid her of her Deſpa
Her laviſh'd Tears, and Exceſs of Sorrow, re
der'd her now more famous, than her Vert
and Beauty had done. The Sequel ſpoil'd
that had gone before, and juſtify'd the Tru
of the Picture repreſented above. We mig
add to this Example, that of a handſome a

vertuo

rtuous * *Engliſh* Lady, who, after having la- * *The Counteſs of Newbourg.*
ented her deceas'd Husband for three or
or Years together, in the moſt ſtrict and re-
'd Widowhood, yielded to the Suit of a Fo-
igner, whoſe Birth and Merit were much be-
ath hers.

Of the Prediction of Gauricus, and the Death of Montgomery.

In the Judgment given by one *Naudé* of *Car-*
and his Works, it is ſaid, that one *Gauri-*
had foretold *Henry* II. King of *France*, that
ſhould live to a good Old-Age, and die of
ſlight and eaſy Diſtemper. On the contrary,
e *French* Hiſtorians report, that he foretold,
e King ſhould die in a ſingle Combat; which
rov'd but too true, the Count *de Montgomery*
ving the Misfortune to give him a mortal
ound, as they were diverting themſelves
ith a Lance-Fight, for which Sport the Count
d ſhewn the greateſt Reluctance, tho' he
uld not prevail with the King to excuſe him.
e may ſee a curious Apology for the Count
Montgomery, in a Letter written by the
ſhop of *Troyes* in *Champagne*, who was then
e Learned *John-Anthony Caraccioli*, Son to the
ince of *Melfe*, who afterwards turn'd *Pro-*
ſant. That Count having nevertheleſs been
tain'd in Priſon, till Affairs took another
rn, had the Misfortune to be taken in Arms
r the Defence of his Party, and to be con-
mn'd to loſe his Head, at the preſſing In-
nces of the Queen-Mother. When he was
ding to the Scaffold, a *Cordelier* waited up-
him, and pretending to make him change
s Religion, went about to perſuade him, he
d been abus'd. *Montgomery* giving the Monk
ſcornful Look, — *If I have been abus'd*, ſaid
, *it muſt have been by thoſe of your Order*; *for*

the

the first that ever shew'd me the Bible in Fren*and made me read it, was a* Cordelier, *as I are; and from that Book I took the Religion wh I have since profess'd, to this very Moment, a which I look upon as the only true Religion; which as I have liv'd, so I will also, by the Gr of* GOD, *die in it this day.*

Chatillon's History suppress'd by Retz.

ADMIRAL *de Chatillon*, who was one of t illustrious Supporters of the Reformation *France*, and a Person of distinguish'd Me had written a History of the most remarka Transactions in his Time. After his Dea that Work was carry'd to *Charles* IX. Th who were about the King's Person, found t it was very well done, and worth the Printi Only the Mareschal *de Retz* dissuaded his M jesty from it, and threw it into the Fire. Whe by that Monster of a Bigot depriv'd the Publ of a very curious Book.

A curious Observation upon the Name of Pope.

IN the Commentary which *Savaron*, a re learned Man of *Auvergne*, made upon *Sidon* he complains of some Persons, who would ha impeach'd him as a Criminal, for giving t Name of *Pope* to *Francis de la Gueste*, Ar Bishop of *Tours*; which was not, however great Crime in itself. For, tho' by the Ed of *Gregory* VII. it was forbidden to give t Title to any but the Bishop of *Rome*, the s was not afterwards universally observ'd; s

The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury styl'd Pope, by the Pope himself.

Urban II. who succeeded *Gregory*, giving Pall to *Anselm*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, sty him *Papam alterius orbis*, notwithstanding Predecessor's Decree; as appears by a Ma script penn'd by a *Benedictine* Monk, cal *Gervais* of *Canterbury*. Moreover, *Savaron*, giving that Name to the Arch-Bishop of *To*

d it only in Imitation of his *Sidonius*, who
'd in a Time when all Biſhops were call'd
pes.

WE are told a remarkable Action of King *A ſingular Diſcourſe of Henry IV. of France.*
my IV. of *France*. Before he made his Speech
his Parliament, the 8th of *January*, 1599, he
d to them, as follows: *Before I ſpeak of the*
bject of my ſending for you, I'll tell you a Story,
ich I have juſt put the Mareſchal de la Châtre
mind of. Soon after St. Bartholomew's *Day,*
four of us were playing at Dice at one Table,
re appear'd ſeveral Drops of Blood; and perceiv-
g, that being twice wiped off, they return'd for
third time, I ſaid, I would play no longer, and
it was an Omen for thoſe who had ſhed it.
onſieur *de Guiſe* was one of the Company.

THE Hiſtory of the Conſtable *Leſdiguieres*
entions this Prodigy, and ſays, that it ap-
ar'd in the Houſe of one *Grillon*, at *Avignon*,
the Year 1574. His Account of it is this:
e day, when Leſdiguieres *ſent a Gentleman Ex-*
ſs to the King of Navarre, *at* Avignon, *to re-*
ve certain Inſtructions; that Gentleman could by
means find Acceſs to his Majeſty, by reaſon he
s obſerv'd on all hands, and eſpecially, by Henry
Lorrain, *Duke of* Guiſe, *who, the better to in-*
nate himſelf into the King's Secrets, was his con-
nt Companion at Bed and Board. It happen'd,
t as they were gaming at a Marble-Table at
onſieur Grillon's, *there ſpurted up Blood which*
ver'd their Hands, without their knowing whence
came, none of the Company having been wounded,
appear'd upon an exact Search. And as this
odigy was interpreted by ſome, as an Omen for
Duke of Guiſe, *for the Blood he had ſpilt on*
Bartholomew's *Day*; *and by others, as a Pre-*
ſage

ſage of that which ſhould afterwards be ſhed in t
Quarrel between thoſe two Princes; they left
Gaming, and Leſdiguieres's *Gentleman went to*
King of Navarre, *and talk'd with him alone.*

Charles IX's *ſharp Anſwer to his Aunt.*

Renee, the *French* King's Siſter, Daught
of *Lewis* XII. and Ducheſs-Dowager of *Ferra*
a Princeſs of great Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Re
gion, ſeeing *Charles* IX. one day, in a careſ
melancholy Mood, to oblige him to chear
deſir'd him to ſing her ſome new Court-A
But the King anſwer'd her, in a violent P
ſion, *I know but one, Aunt; and that you ta*
me; meaning the Verſion of a Pſalm, wh
ſays, *Many a time have they fought againſt*
from my Youth up; — but they have not preva
againſt me. The Ducheſs had not a Word
ſay to ſuch a ſharp Anſwer.

A curious Remark in Hiſtory.

'Tis well worthy Obſervation in Hiſto
that the Three Lords, who had the great
Averſion for the *Proteſtants*, marry'd Wom
that were ſo. *Lewis de Bourbon*, Duke of *M*
penſier, eſpous'd *Jacquette de Langvy*, of
ancient Family of *Givry*, who educated
Daughter, *Charlotte de Montpenſier*, in her o
Religion; and this Lady was afterwards m
ry'd to *William* of *Naſſau*, Prince of *Ora*
Francis of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Guiſe*, marry'd *A*
d' Eſte, who was her Mother's own Dau
ter, that is, of that Wiſe and Chriſtian P
ceſs *Renée* of *France*, Daughter of *Lewis*
And *James d' Albon* eſpous'd *Margaret de*
ſtrac, who took, to her ſecond Husband, *G*
frey de Caumont, who had been Abbot of *Cl*
but took up the Sword, after the Death of
Elder Brother.

Seve

A Reflexion upon the Opinion of Epicurus.

Several Ancient Philoſophers have writ-
en ſtrenuouſly againſt the Opinion of *Epicurus*,
ith more of Envy, than of Reaſon; ſince we
ee, a good Number of Moderns have defended
, and found nothing amiſs in it, when taken in
he Senſe they took it. *To live according to*
Nature, and *Not to feel any Pain*, is what he
all'd *Living voluptuouſly*. Such a Life ſeems
ot liable to Cenſure. The ſtricteſt Severity
ever diſapprov'd it. To be guided by Na-
ure, is to be guided by Reaſon. The Limits
he has preſcribed us, are thoſe of Innocence.
he has nothing in her, but what's equitable
nd juſt. 'Twas not from Her, that Avarice de-
cended: She had hidden the Gold deep in the
owels of the vileſt Element; Men go thither
o dig it out. The Ambition that torments
hem, is not to be attributed to Her. She
nds 'em all into the World, and takes 'em out
n't, alike. They no otherwiſe differ one from
he other, but as they corrupt Her. Is it She,
hat recommends Pleaſure? The Poets, who,
o excuſe their own Commiſſion of Crimes,
ave charg'd even Heaven itſelf with Imper-
ections, and made a wicked and vicious *Jupi-*
r, becauſe they might be ſo themſelves, have
ot dared to accuſe Nature: On the contrary,
hey have preſerv'd Her Purity entire. They
ell us, that in the Beginning, Acorns were the
nly Food of Men; that Water quench'd their
hirſt; that they dwelt in Caverns, had no
loaths to defend them againſt the Attacks of
he keeneſt Weather, but, in all their Actions,
ere guided by Nature. I am apt to think,
he firſt Inhabitants of the Earth did not live
ſuch an abſolute Simplicity, which ſuited ra-

ther with the Stupidity of Beaſts, than wit
the Politeneſs of Men. 'Tis true, they hav
carry'd Things farther in their Deſcriptions
but their Deſign is to let us know, at leaſt, tha
our Exceſſes do not proceed from Nature; an
that we ourſelves abuſe the Bounty of Heave
and the Advantages She affords us. We ſhou
make that Uſe of what She gives us, as to
able eaſily to diſpenſe with it; to be its M
ſter, and not its Slave; to enjoy it peaceabl
as we have Opportunity; and not to ſeek
with overmuch Greedineſs and Pains.

Let *Ariſtippus* enjoy the Riches of *Creſu*
they ſhall no ſooner incommode him, but
throws them away. Set *Plato* at the Table
Dionyſius the Tyrant, he ſhall ſometimes eat n
thing there, but Olives. We ought not to fi
Fault with the Poſſeſſion of good Things, b
only with the Slavery of them. Neither is
Poverty, that makes Men Wiſe; tho' it m
eradicate the Itch of committing certain Faul
The tatter'd Cloaths of the *Cynicks* do not,
the leaſt, contribute to Tranquillity, or to M
deſty. Ambition follow'd *Diogenes* even to
Tub; and it was there, he had the Boldne
to command *Alexander*, the Proudeſt of M
Let what will happen, it will be indifferent
us, if we do but poſſeſs our Soul in Moderatio
and if we are wiſe, and follow the Rules of N
ture. I muſt confeſs, 'tis harder to obey
in Plenty, than in Want: Moderation is
ſo well able to withſtand the Allurement
flowing Wealth, as the Stings of griping
verty: But then, 'tis more glorious to foil 'e
and the Loſs of falſe Joys much better ſecu
the Poſſeſſion of true ones.

We cannot reliſh the Felicity, which coſts nothing, and for which we are beholden ly to Fortune. We muſt have the Happi- ſs which Wiſdom gives; and Pain muſt ſome- es introduce us to Pleaſure. Storms and mpeſts are the Things which give Reputa- n to Pilots; and if *Penelope*'s Chaſtity had ver been try'd, People would have been apt to , ſhe only wanted Men to debauch her. 'Tis hame for the Wife to fly from, and be weaker n, Deſires, which, not being conformable to ture, have no other Credit, than what the inion of Men gives them.

This is, in part, the *Pleaſure* of the *Epi- ans*, which they term, *Living according to ure*; and this is their Doctrine, and their timents. And, deſerves this to be hated deſpis'd of Men? Does it favour Debauche- and Exceſs? Can any thing be more ſober, more chaſt? Ask *Epicurus*, what it is *to voluptuouſly?* He will anſwer you, that it *Not to have an Affection for the Things of the rld*; *To reſiſt evil Deſires*; *To make ones ſelf ſter of Fortune*; *To deſpiſe Honours*; and, *To y a perfect Peace and Tranquillity of Mind.* ther tend all his Precepts; 'Tis here we t with Pleaſure; here we ought to ſeek it; not in gratifying the Senſes, or humouring Appetites. Pleaſure is too pure, to depend the Body. Reaſon is its Miſtreſs and Guide; the Senſes only its Miniſters: How deceitful, refore, are the Pleaſures which Men fondly , in gratifying the Taſte, or Sight, or the r Senſes; if they are not taken with a quiet d? They abuſe themſelves with falſe De- ts; and take the Shadow for the Thing it-

ſelf. Burn all the Perfumes and Spices of *Arabia-Felix*; Lock yourſelf up with *Venus*; Li on Nectar and Ambroſia; Enjoy all the Swe deſcrib'd by the Poets: After all theſe, y ſhall taſte ſomething of Bitter and Nauſeo if there be Inquietude; and your Chagrin ſh force you to utter Complaints, amidſt all th Enjoyments. For inſtance, read only the H ſtory of the Feaſt which *Tigellinus* made for *N* You will there ſee that great Debauch, wh Luxury and Fame have been brought do even to our Age. It ſeems to have been laſt Effort of Splendor and Magnificence; that Senſuality could not be carry'd to a gr ter Height. *Agrippa*'s *Pond* was the Pl pitch'd upon for this vaſt Entertainment. was made in a magnificent and ſtately Barq which being tow'd by a great many oth ſeem'd to move inſenſibly. Not a Barque was enrich'd with Gold and Ivory. The R ers were ſo many handſome Youths, not to ſo many *Cupids*. The Ocean had furniſh'd Fiſ the Tables; and the Provinces of the Em the moſt noble Variety of Meats. In a w the Feaſt was as plentiful, as it was exquiſ not to mention the infamous Houſes built on the Banks of that Water, and fill'd Women of great Quality, and Courtiſanes appear'd quite naked. Even the Night haunced the Pleaſure of that Debauch: Darkneſs was diſpell'd by numberleſs Lig and its Silence agreeably troubled by the H mony of ſeveral Conſorts. What Pleaſure *Nero*, think you, in all theſe Things? and how great Satisfaction did he leave this quet? Fancy only, that he carry'd with

An Example upon the Subject.

th

hither the Remembrance of his Crimes, and
emorſe of Conſcience; and you will eaſily
onclude, that Deſpair was his Companion;
nd that he ſuffer'd there, like the moſt guilty
alefactor. Tho' his Outſide had the Appea-
nce of a Triumph, he was acting, in his Soul,
bloody Tragedy. If he had any Joy, it was
at of the Prieſteſſes of *Bacchus*. He was be-
olden, for his Pleaſure, to his Madneſs or
runkenneſs; and was only happy, in pro-
ortion as he had loſt his Reaſon. The ſame
ay likewiſe be ſaid of all that accompany'd
im. Neither *Seneca*, nor *Traſeas Pœtus*, nor
areas Soranus, who, amidſt the Corruptions
nd Debaucheries of their Age, liv'd comform-
bly to Nature, were of the Number of the
ueſts. There were none, without doubt, but
en who liv'd like himſelf, egg'd him on to
uthorize his Crimes, were themſelves the In-
ruments that perpetrated 'em, and before
hom he could do any thing without bluſhing.
n Aſſembly of ſuch Perſons could not be hap-
; neither could you have found there ſo
uch as a ſound Man. Pleaſure could never
nter into Minds ſully'd and corrupted by all
anner of Debaucheries and Exceſs. They
ere Slaves to all the Paſſions, which diſturb
he Tranquillity of the Mind, and were by no
eans in a condition to reliſh the Pleaſure of
Epicurus.

The Appli-cation.

It were to be wiſh'd, that that Philoſopher
ad been at the Tyrant's Debauch, and given
is Opinion of it. Doubtleſs, he would have
eclar'd the Truth before *Nero* himſelf, with-
ut any Apprehenſion of Death, which he held

indifferent. He would, perhaps, have addreſs'
himſelf to the Emperor, in Terms like theſe:

Epicurus's Speech to Nero. How art thou abus'd, Unhappy Prince, i
fancying, that true Pleaſure is to be found i
thy Exceſſes! It is as diſtant from them, a
thou art from a happy Life. Whereſoever tho
goeſt, thou carry'ſt thy Unhappineſs with thee
and do what thou wilt, thou canſt not get ri
of thy Conſcience, for a Moment. Cover,
thou pleaſeſt, thy Table with more exquiſit
Dainties than thoſe now eating; Drink th
moſt delicious Wines of *Greece* and *Italy*; Wa
low in all the moſt abominable Filthineſſes tha
Debauch can invent: In all theſe, thou wi
find nothing Satisfactory; but when thy Bod
is glutted, thy Mind will ſtill be void of Plea
ſure. Theſe are not the Things which rende
Life happy: Prudence alone will procure the
the Sovereign Good: 'Tis She, who will teac
thee to regulate thy Deſires according to Na
ture; and in ſuch a Regulation, thou wilt fin
that which thou canſt not meet with in all th
Enormities. If thou wanteſt any thing, mak
thy Addreſſes to that common Mother; an
ſhe will furniſh thee to thy unſpeakable Sati
faction. Art thou thirſty? She has every wher
diſpos'd Rivers and Fountains, where tho
may'ſt quench thy Thirſt. Does Hunger pre
thee? Thou ſhalt every where find Fruits t
ſatisfy it. If thou art not content with theſe
neither wilt thou ever be with all thy Exceſſe
Pleaſure is nothing but the Privation of Pai
Conſult thy Hunger and thy Thirſt; they wi
afford thee the greateſt Pleaſure in the Simpl
city of Nature; and Bread and Water wil
when thou needeſt, ſerve thee as well as th
fine

fineſt Meal thou haſt ever eaten in thy Life. At preſent, thou art not in that Condition, becauſe thou doſt not give thy Stomach Time to digeſt the Meats thou load'ſt it with: Thy Intemperance gathers Crudities every day; and haſtens the Death thou art ſo much afraid of. Thus, thou makeſt Feaſts, and haſt no Pleaſure in them; becauſe thou conſtraineſt Nature: Thou forceſt her to obey thy Deſires; but aſſure thyſelf, they are her Enemies; and that the Gorging of thy Body obſcures the Lights of thy Reaſon. Flatter thyſelf no longer, therefore, with a Senſe of the Pleaſures thou figur'ſt to thyſelf; There is no reliſhing any other Pleaſures, than thoſe which are allow'd by Nature. The Ambition of Subjects makes 'em aſpire at Crowns. They are no ſooner Kings, but they deſire to be Monarchs of the Univerſe. Being Monarchs, nothing will go down with 'em, but Incenſe and Sacrifices. The Fable of the Giants teaches us, that Earth has dared to ſtrike at the Government of Heaven. 'Tis juſt the ſame thing with the other inordinate Deſires. None can be happy, but he that knows how to reſtrain them; and as it is the Buſineſs of the Wiſe only, to do that; ſo it belongs to him alone, to command the Univerſe. There is none but He, that can draw Pleaſure out of all things; He is the only Perſon, that can make a ſober Uſe of Delights; and deſpiſe them, when he has 'em in Poſſeſſion. As for thee, who diſhonour'ſt the Race of *Auguſtus*, and art a Shame to Mankind, of whom the Gods, in their Anger, have made thee Commander; do what thou wilt, thou ſhalt ſtill be unhappy; thou ſhalt every where carry thy

Torment about thee; thou ſhalt never fre
thyſelf, for a Minute, from thy Conſcience
and in the very Moment thou art makin
merry, the Wine thou drinkeſt ſhall put the
in mind of the innocent Blood which thy Cruel
ty has ſpilt.

Such, I fancy, would have been the Diſ
courſe of *Epicurus* to *Nero*. He would there
by have juſtify'd his Philoſophy, and reprov'
the Emperor's Vices. But as it is impoſſible
that the Mind, which is the Arbiter of th
Will, ſhould have a true and perfect Reliſh o
it, if the Body, which is its Miniſter, is affli
ed with any Torment; *Epicurus* teaches, tha
the Privation as well of the Pains of the Bod
as thoſe of the Soul, is neceſſary for the Con
ſummation of the Sovereign Good, which h
calls (*Voluptas*) Pleaſure. There is ſuch a ſtri
Relation between the Fleſh and the Spirit, tha
it is a very difficult matter to ſeparate thei
Pleaſures and their Sufferings. The Soul can
not be completely happy, while the Body i
rack'd with painful Diſtempers; For, how ca
ſhe be ſenſible of Joy, while the Violence of th
Diſtemper forces Complaints from her? or c
Pleaſure, while ſhe is preſent in all the Part
that are affected?

That if the Body ſuffers, the Soul cannot enjoy Felicity, as the Stoicks aſſume.

Let, then, the *Stoicks* boaſt, as long as the
pleaſe, the Inſenſibility of their wiſe Man, an
the rigorous Vertue which laughs at Pai
When once they come to ſuffer it, they find
that their Body is not of their Opinion: An
tho' their Diſcourſes are lofty and ſublime, ye
they are not agreeable to Nature, and to Truth
Hercules alone is a glaring Inſtance of this
That famous Hero, who is placed among th
Gods

Gods, is ſo celebrated for his many and his hard Labours, and is pitch'd upon by the *Stoicks*, as a perfect Model of their Strength and Wiſdom! Let us viſit him dying, and conſider the laſt Actions of his Life. Doubtleſs, that invincible Man will go out on't, as he came into it, doing ſomething of Heroick. He will utter nothing which may diſhonour his great Actions, or ſeem unworthy his paſt Vertue. — Nevertheleſs, we ſee the quite contrary. Poignant Pain triumphs over his Courage. His Conſtancy yields to the Ardour of the Poiſon which conſumes him. He does not only complain; he cries, and roars; and with the loudeſt Effects of Rage and Deſpair, departs this Life, to take his Seat among the Gods. Let the *Stoicks*, therefore, come over to the *Epicureans*, and ſay no more concerning their Inſenſibility. Let 'em no longer affirm, that the wiſe Man can be happy in the worſt of Torment; nor deſpiſe Pain, ſince under the Weight thereof, *Hercules* himſelf ſuccomb'd.

Circumgemunt petræ Locrorum, & alta Euboeæ promontoria.

If it is objected, that the Poet did wrong, in repreſenting that grand Hero after ſuch a manner, and ſo his Authority is diſputed; *Poſſidonius*, the greateſt of *Stoicks*, may himſelf ſerve for an illuſtrious Example; and you will ſee one of the chief Pillars of the Building ſhaken by the Attacks of a ſlight Diſtemper. Afterwards, the Gout ſeiz'd him, and prov'd the Bane of his Conſtancy. He complain'd of its Violence, with as much Impatience, as if he had been an ordinary Man: And tho' he twitted the Pain, that all its Efforts ſhould not conſtrain him to own, it was an Evil; yet could he not forbear to afflict and bewail himſelf;

thus

thus ſhewing more of Obſtinacy, than of Reaſon and Conſtancy.

Mecenas, on the contrary, priz'd his Life above all things.

MECENAS was of a quite contrary Opinion. He was fonder of his Life, than becomes a Philoſopher, or even a Man of Spirit. They could not make him a Propoſal for Life, but he accepted it. Tell him, he would be deform'd? No Matter: That he would be lame; Life was comfortable: That he muſt undergo the most violent Torment; He ſhould ſtill be happy, if it was not mortal. And had they condemn'd him to the cruel'ſt Death that could be invented, he would never have conſented to loſe his Life, provided he could have preſerv'd it amidſt the moſt dreadful Tortures. An effeminate Softneſs had dictated to him thoſe Sentiments. He enjoy'd all the Pleaſures of Life without ever having been ſenſible of Pain; but had he fallen into the miſerable Condition propos'd, he would, undoubtedly, have wiſh'd for Death to deliver him out of it. Hence 'tis plain, that he was *voluptuous*, but not an *Epicurean*, ſince theſe Philoſophers have Souls too courageous to relax to Sentiments ſo baſe and feeble; and are leſs apprehenſive of Death than of Torment; nay, ſometimes renounce Pleaſure for Pain itſelf.

Precautions taken by Epicurus.

THE Reaſon is, becauſe *Epicurus*, rightly judging that the greateſt part of Mankind, corrupted by the Enjoyment of Pleaſures, and blindly ſuffering themſelves to be born down by the rapid Stream of their unruly Appetites, would not be able to foreſee the Pains and Afflictions that would afterwards proceed from ſuch Diſorders; And fearing, beſides, that the Love of Idleneſs, and Effeminacy of Mind, join'd

oin'd with the Fear of Labour and Pain, would make them fail of their Duty, and become uſeleſs in their Generations; 'twas his Opinion, that when the wiſe Man ſhould be at full Liberty to chooſe, and there ſhould be no Obſtacle to his Satisfaction, he might abandon himſelf to Pleaſure, and entirely baniſh Pain; but that there were alſo certain Occaſions, upon which the Ties of Duty, and the Neceſſity of Affairs, would induce him not to refuſe Pain, but even to baniſh Pleaſure.

It was by Epicurus's Maxim, that Cato Uticenſis prefer'd Death to Life.

THIS generous Maxim coſt *Cato Uticenſis* his Life. For, tho' he might have liv'd in Safety after the Ruin of his Party, and *Ceſar* would have been proud of granting him his Life; yet the Shame of ſurviving the Loſs of Publick Liberty, and the Odium of Slavery, would not ſuffer his great Mind to deliberate, whether he ſhould chooſe the Pain of dying gloriouſly, to avoid the Pleaſure of living after a manner, which appear'd to him unworthy a *Roman*.

Regulus *the ſame.*

'TWAS by this Maxim, that *Regulus* ſurrender'd himſelf into the Hands of his Enemies; where the Cruelties of the Executioners would have been leſs painful to him, than the Remorſe of having been worſe than his Word.

Fabricius *the ſame.*

THE ſame Maxim made *Fabricius* deſpiſe the Treaſures of *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*; being deſirous to avoid the evil Inclinations which attend the Poſſeſſion of Riches, and to preſerve his Tranquillity of Soul, as the Sovereign Pleaſure.

Cicero *the ſame.*

THIS Maxim made *Cicero* alſo declaim againſt *Anthony*, and expoſe himſelf for the Good of the Republick, at a time when he might have remain'd in Quiet at his own

Houſe,

Houſe, in the peaceable Enjoyment of an eaſ
Life, and the Delights of his Studies.

Every thing praiſe-worthy, may be referr'd to this Maxim.

THE Truth is, there is nothing of Commen
dable, but may be referr'd to the ſame Maxim
And however heroick the Actions of thoſ
great Men might be, it will appear, that
they did ſeem eager for Pain, it was to avoi
a greater; and that, on the contrary, if the
did not taſte ſome Pleaſures, they deſign'd, b
their very Abſtinence, to acquire ſuch as wer
more ſolid and ſatisfactory. What other Cau
would you aſſign to their illuſtrious Actions
Would they have encounter'd Death with ſ
much Indifference? refus'd the Poſſeſſion o
Gold? incurr'd dangerous Grudges? and no
regarded, at the ſame time, whether what the
did was uſeful or agreeable to 'em? We mu
not do them that Injuſtice; nor impute the E
fects of their Wiſdom to the Efforts of the De
pravation of their Minds. We muſt nece
think, they acted with Deliberation; and no
render their Condition worſe than that of th
moſt ſavage Beaſts, which are never ſo fa
tranſported, but that 'tis eaſy to know wh
ther their impetuous Motions drive them.

A Reflexion upon the Deaths of Cato, Regulus, Fabricius, *and* Cicero.

CATO laid down his Life; becauſe it wa
tireſome to him. He thought it leſs painful t
leave the World, than to obey *Ceſar*, whom
he did not look upon as a good Man; and muc
more agreeable, to ceaſe to live, than to liv
in a ſhameful Servitude. *Regulus* return'd t
Carthage: Had he not done it, he had been ac
cus'd of Perfidiouſneſs. *Fabricius* could not b
corrupted by *Pyrrhus:* Therein he manifeſte
his Integrity, and ſerv'd his Country; and i
the ſingle Pleaſure of refuſing Wealth, he re
ceiv'

ceiv'd more Satisfaction, than he would have done, had he accepted it. Laſtly, *Cicero* rail'd at *Anthony*, and declar'd himſelf his mortal Enemy. Were this without Reaſon, he deſerves to be blamed; but if, by expoſing himſelf, he deſign'd to eſtabliſh the Tranquillity of the Republick, and would have ruin'd *Anthony*, to ſave *Rome*; beſides that he took care of the Safety of the Citizens, in which his own was involv'd, he deſerv'd the Applauſe of the whole World, and much more, the Love of the People of *Rome*.

That they were not Epicureans.

ALL theſe great Men were not, indeed, of the Family of *Epicurus*. Far from it, one of them has endeavour'd, in his Writings, to refute his Opinions; but it ſuffices, that the Authority of their Examples is found in his Doctrine; and that either Vertue was not the only Motive of their Actions, or elſe, what they call'd *Vertue*, ought to be named *Pleaſure*. Out of this School have proceeded Heroick Minds, which, in a corrupt Age, have done as noble Actions, as did the *Romans* in the moſt flouriſhing State of their Republick.

A Compariſon of the Death of Petronius, *with that of* Seneca.

DURING the Reign of *Nero*, the Death of *Petronius* was as ſurprizing, as that of *Seneca*. The Emperor's *Tutor* did not acquire greater Glory by dying, than was afterwards aſcrib'd to the *Arbiter of his Pleaſures*; and, it was the general Opinion, that that *Stoick*, who always taught the Contempt of Life, did not make a more generous *Exit*, than *Petronius*, who had indulg'd himſelf in all its Pleaſures.

THIS famous *Epicurean* gave Inſtances of his Generoſity and Wiſdom, which entitled him to a Place in the Number of illuſtrious Perſons.

A particular Remark on Petronius, agreeable to an illuſtrious Perſon who died in England.

ſons. He was entirely free from thoſe extravagant Vices, which eat up ſo many Gentlemens Eſtates. He profeſs'd a *polite Luxury*, and all his Pleaſures were ſtudy'd. Thus, as Induſtry and Pains gave Reputation to other Men, he was the only Perſon that acquired it by his Eaſe. His Words and Actions were free and unaffected; and as they ſhew'd the Candor and Goodneſs of his Mind, they were entertain'd with Pleaſure and Satisfaction. Nevertheleſs, this great Perſonage being ſenſible that there is a time, when a wiſe Man ought to prefer the Service of the Republick, before his own private Eaſe and Tranquillity; abandon'd that happy Manner of Living, and was firſt made Proconſul of *Bithynia*, and afterwards Conſul; which high Truſts having worthily diſcharg'd, he demonſtrated, by his active Genius and Conduct, that there was no Buſineſs too profound for his Penetration.

His Friendſhip with Nero.

After he had quitted thoſe Employs, he betook himſelf to his former Way of Living; and becoming one of *Nero*'s moſt intimate Friends, tho' that Prince was very viciouſly inclined, yet was he ſo much charm'd with his Merit, that he made him *Arbiter* of all his Pleaſures; and amidſt the great Affluence of his Enjoyments, eſteem'd nothing pleaſant and agreeable, but what *Petronius* had approv'd. I ſpeak only of Lawful Pleaſures, and Commendable Diverſions; for, far from participating of *Nero*'s lewd Debauches, that Prince was ſtrangely ſhock'd, when he underſtood, that *Petronius* had heard of them. But the *Arbiter* taking upon him to upbraid *Nero* with them,

in

his Writings, the latter caus'd *Silia* to be niſh'd, who, he believ'd, diſcover'd them.

AFTERWARDS, *Tigellinus* look'd upon him his Competitor; and imagining, that by the ethod of diſcreet and laudable Pleaſure, which declared himſelf for, he would do that which *eca* could not, by the Auſterity of his Sect, mely, reſtrain the Irregularities of *Nero*'s ife; he reſolv'd to ruin him, thinking he had other Way to eſtabliſh himſelf, but upon the ther's Fall. *Tigellinus his Competitor.*

HE excited that Prince's Cruelty, to which his other Pleaſures gave place; accuſing *Petronius* of being one of *Scævinus*'s Friends, who as in *Piſo*'s Conſpiracy. He ſuborn'd one of his rvants to ſwear againſt him, depriv'd him of the Means of making his Defence, and laid oſt of his Domeſticks in Irons. A Perſon of leſs generous Spirit would have flatter'd himlf with the Hopes of his Pardon, or prolong'd is Life to the very laſt Moment: But *Petronius* acted quite otherwiſe. He thought it would ook too weak and timorous, to undergo any onger the Delays of Hope and Fear; and beng reſolv'd to die, ſought an Expedient to do , with the ſame Tranquillity in which he had v'd. Wherefore, not being willing to quit he World with Precipitation, he order'd his eins to be open'd; then cauſing them to be ound up again, and afterwards unbound, as is Fancy led him; he entertain'd his Friends ith agreeable Converſation, without the Affeation of ſerious Diſcourſes, which would have utitled him to the Glory of Conſtancy. *His Method to ruin him.*

PETRONIUS

His Deportment at his Death,

PETRONIUS did not employ the laſt Hou of his Life, in diſcourſing of the Immortali of the Soul, nor of the Opinion of the Philoſ phers. He choſe a Death more pleaſant a natural, and determin'd rather to imitate t Sweetneſs of the Swans, and to repeat poina and agreeable Verſes: Nevertheleſs, he r 'ſerv'd a few Moments to ſettle his Affairs i He rewarded many of his Slaves, and puniſh ſome others. Then, perceiving that he h not long to live, after he had perform'd a ſle der Exerciſe, he quietly fell aſleep; that ſo h Death, which was forced, might ſeem fortu tous and natural. After all that can be ſai therefore, of the Conſtancy with which *Socra* drank the Poiſon, *Petronius* is ſo far from b ing inferiour to him, that he thus far exce him, in that he quitted a Life infinitely mo delicious than that of the Sage *Greek*, with t ſame Tranquillity of Mind, and the ſame Eve neſs of Soul.

Equal to that of Socrates.

The Portrait of Epicurus's Pleaſure, and its Oppoſite.

THE better to underſtand how precious t *Pleaſure* is, let us draw one Portrait of a Pe ſon who enjoys it, and another of one that deſtitute of it. Let us figure to ourſelves Man in perfect Health, very rich, ſolacing hi ſelf innocently with whatſoever is delightf quiet and content in his Mind, taſting, in abu dance, the moſt agreeable Pleaſures both of B dy and Mind; not afflicted with a preſent, n afraid of a future Pain. Can there be a mo excellent or deſirable Condition? In ſuch State, a Man ſhould poſſeſs a Bravery of Mi Proof againſt the Fears of Death and Pain; n to be affected with the falſe Opinions of t Vulgar, nor deterr'd by fooliſh Frights: L hi

im hold faſt the Pleaſures he has enjoy'd; and
t the agreeable Remembrance thereof ſtill
ntertain him. This is to arrive at the Summi-
of Happineſs, and to have nothing more to
m at, to complete his Felicity. On the other
nd, when we deſcribe a Man under all the
iſfortunes that can afflict Humane Nature;
priv'd of all Hopes of ever being in a better
ondition; neither enjoying the leaſt preſent
light; nor having experienced any former;
r hoping ever to do ſo for the future: If we
low, that nothing can be more wretched than
ch a Condition, we muſt acknowledge, that
thing can be more happy than the Pleaſure
Epicurus.

A Reflexion on this Death.

If you think, that this happy Perſon, accor-
ng to the foregoing Deſcription, is only to
found in the Imagination; and that ſuch a
rfect Happineſs does not reſide among Men,
t in Idea only; this is to have baſe Sen-
ments of the humane State, and of the Boun-
of Heaven: And you muſt leave this Error,
fore you can forbear repining at the Miſery
d Injuſtice of your Deſtiny. Obſerve this
iginal, drawn by the Hand of a very great
aſter, and repos'd in the Cabinet of one of
e moſt curious Authors that ever wrote. It
, indeed, *Felicity* itſelf, deſcribed under the
rrow'd Name of *Orata*. I ſhall give you an
act Tranſlation of what is reported of his
appineſs.

The Deſcription of Orata, by Cicero.

Orata never wanted any thing (being very
ch, polite, and ingenious) that could contri-
te to render his Life very pleaſant, and him-
lf belov'd, and in a perfect State of Health.
e had great Revenues; a very fine Eſtate in

Land; many Friends, useful, agreeable, and diverting; and rightly improv'd all these to the sweet Delights of Life. All his Designs and Intentions met with a happy Success, and favourable Accomplishment. There is nothing to be disliked in such a Condition, unless a Change happens; but, on the contrary, a Man must be esteem'd happy, as long as he can continue in that State. This much resembles our former Design, which might be taken for the Effect of Fancy, or the Sport of Imagination.

Miserable Persons oppos'd to Orata.

As for miserable Wretches to oppose to *Orata*; we may set against him the unfortunate Condition of those, who have been represented upon the Ancient Theater; One of whom judges himself too wicked to sway the *Grecian* Scepter, fearing to dishonour the Race of *Pelops*, from whom he avows his Descent, and therefore, dares not shew his Face in the World, nor go into the Temples. Another uses to make Signs to his Friends, not to come near him, imagining himself so unhappy, that his very Shadow would poison them. Or rather, let us no longer remember *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, but forget their Crimes, the Memory whereof strikes Horrour: Nor let our Eyes dwell on a Family, which obliged the Sun to return from his Place, and furnish'd Hell with one of its most dire Punishments. We had better choose Heroes and Persons as unfortunate as the Race of *Tantalus*: A Son of *Amphiaraus* terrify'd with Visions, and demanding Succour against the *Furies*: An *Alcmaon*, representing to us the Tortures of the Conscience, and the Racks of the Soul: A *Philoctetes*, complaining of the Miseries to which he is reduced, lamenting

g his ill Fortune, and in Deſpair when his
ſicer is inflam'd. If theſe Miſeries are not
fficient, we may add all thoſe painted in Sto-
, to complete a wretched Man; and then,
will be eaſy to determine, whether his Con-
tion is more happy than *Orata*'s, or the fa-
ous *Vatia*'s, who deſerv'd this Applauſe; *O*
atia! *You only know how to live.* From whence
e may alſo conclude; *O* Epicurus! *You were*
only true Philoſopher.

A Reflexion on the Vices which oppoſe Felicity.

AMBITION and baſe Deſires are Vices en-
rely oppoſite to Felicity. They are inſatia-
e and dangerous. They not only deſtroy
ivate Perſons, but ruin whole Families, and
erturn States. They raiſe Animoſities, Di-
ſions, Diſcords, Seditions, and Wars. They
e the Tyrants of the Souls that nouriſh them;
d if we conſult the Poets well, we ſhall find,
at by the Torments of the Damn'd, they
ould repreſent to us thoſe, with which theſe
ternal Plagues afflict us.

Temperance an Aſſiſtant to Wiſdom.

TEMPERANCE is not only deſirable for it-
f, but becauſe it preſerves that Peace of
ind, without which we cannot be happy;
d by the Concord wherewith it inſpires, it
peaſes all the Troubles of the Soul, and makes
om for Pleaſure. This Vertue always comes
to the Aſſiſtance of Wiſdom, and performs
at which the other can but reſolve on; and
the one directs what we ought to follow,
other ſtops us when we go contrary to its
dvice, and eſteem Senſe beyond Reaſon. It
a Bridle to curb us in, when we run after
rnicious Pleaſures, and a Hand that leads us
ely into the Way of Truth. In ſhort, it is

a Vertue without which we can neither be wi
nor happy.

All would be wiſe; but few are ſteady in their Reſolution.

The Generality of Men unanimouſly decla
for Wiſdom; but they have not the Power
ſtick to their Reſolution. They may be co
pared to the *Phædria* of *Terence*. That hai
brain'd Lover frankly owns, that he ſhould
very baſely, in reconciling himſelf with h
Miſtris. He knows her to be very lewd, a
himſelf very wretched: He bewails and griev
for it; but makes no Progreſs towards Amen
ment. He is always burning in the Fire
Love; and when he moſt plainly ſees, he is
the Brink of Deſtruction, then he periſhes
ſignedly and deliberately.

He that fears Death, lives miſerably.

'Tis ſurprizing, that among *Chriſtians*,
many affright themſelves with dreadful A
prehenſions of Death. This Fear were mo
pardonable in thoſe, who have no Hopes
another Life, more happy than this. It is i
poſſible for a Man to live happy, that fe
Death. What Pleaſure did *Damocles*, the *Si
lian*, enjoy, amidſt all his Feaſts and Muſi
while he was in continual Fear of the Falli
of a Sword, which threaten'd his Head, a
his Diadem? It is a very great Misfortune,
ſuccomb to Miſeries, and not be able to und
go thoſe Evils, which it is impoſſible for us
avert. This Meanneſs of Spirit has carr
many Perſons to Extremities, highly ſcan
lous to Humane Nature. Hence the Po
took occaſion to transform *Hecuba* into a
Bitch, becauſe ſhe could not ſurmount the G
ſhe underwent, which forced her to imit
the Fury of that Creature. Had ſhe but
puls'd her Grief, or, at leaſt, endeavour'd
for

forget the Occaſion of it; ſhe would not, certainly, have run from Tears to Deſpair, and from Deſpair to Madneſs. She had, indeed, juſt and great Cauſe of Complaint. She had loſt her Husband, her Sons, her Empire, and her Liberty. She muſt have been ſtupid, if theſe Circumſtances had not drawn Tears from her; and, it had argu'd Inhumanity in her, to have wiſh'd their Current ſtopt: But after ſome time of lamenting, ſhe ought, in Juſtice, to have preſcrib'd Bounds to her Grief, regulated her Sorrow, and diverted her Melancholy, from oppoſing Reaſon, to encounter Deſpair.

CONSIDER *Aſtianax* and *Polyxena*, when they went to die. They were a young Boy and Girl, whom the *Greeks* had condemn'd to Death. Figure to yourſelf *Ulyſſes* advancing, holding *Aſtianax* by the Hand, and proudly ſtalking, to throw him headlong down a Precipice: But the Youth, you ſee, follows him with no leſs Reſolution. All that accompany him, are in Tears: Only his Eyes are dry, and forbear to weep even at his Death. Whilſt the Executioners are invoking the Gods at this bloody Sacrifice, he throws himſelf from the Top of the Tower, from whence he was to be caſt down; and voluntarily puts an End to a Life that was but juſt begun.

The Firmneſs of Aſtianax *at his Death.*

Now turn your Eyes to the other ſide. *Polyxena* is already placed upon *Achilles*'s Tomb, expecting, every Moment, the Blow which is to appeaſe the Ghoſt of the *Greek*, and rejoin her Soul to thoſe of her Parents. Admire her Beauty, which appears bright and ſerene. Her Countenance is not in the leaſt diſturb'd at

the Approach of Death. This Sun, juſt goi
to ſet for ever, ſeems to have added new Gl
ry to the laſt Rays of its Light. There
ſomething in her Air, moſt Noble, and beyo
her Sex. She beholds, with an Heroick Br
very and Aſſurance, the impending Blow; n
once offers to put it by. Even when *Pyrr*
gives it, her laſt Action ſpeaks her Courag
for ſhe falls upon *Achilles*'s Tomb, only wi
deſign to make the Earth lay heavier on hi
and to revenge herſelf by dying. Is it not v
ry much to *Hecuba*'s Reproach, to ſee her Chi
dren more courageous than herſelf? to ſhed
many Tears, when *Aſtianax* and *Polyxena* di
without dropping one? They were very ha
py, in compariſon of their wretched Moth
who wanted Courage under her Misfortun
and Reſolution to reſent them leſs ſeverely.

Of Juſtice. JUSTICE is a Vertue, which, far from hur
ing our Minds, always nouriſhes in them,
its Strength, Sentiments which render the
ſedate and calm; and never leaves them wit
out this Hope, that we ſhall never want a
thing, that Nature, if not vitiated, requires.

Of Injuſtice. FOLLY, Intemperance, and Cowardice,
the contrary, afflict, torment, and trouble
continually; ſo that Injuſtice no ſooner ge
the Maſtery of a Soul, but it throws all in
Diſorder and Confuſion, and renders a M
miſerable, without being criminal. Let an u
juſt Perſon go to perpetrate a wicked Actio
and do it with ſuch Secrecy, that neither M
nor the Sun can bear Witneſs againſt him; y
can he not be aſſur'd, that it will always
conceal'd; and notwithſtanding the preſe
Darkneſs and Obſcurity which cover it, he
alwa

lways afraid, the Truth will out. Suſpicion lways attends ill Actions; and, when the udges are ignorant of the Matter, Conſcience ften forces thoſe who do them, to diſcover hem. Whoſoever believes, that his Riches nd Power are ſufficient to defend him againſt Humane Juſtice, and ſet him above the Laws nd Puniſhment; ought yet to conſider, that hey cannot ſecure him againſt the Divine Juſtice. He cannot lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, but his Conſcience fills him with Horrour; and thoſe diſmal Inquietudes, which continually prey upon him, are the ſecret Executioners of ſuch Puniſhments as GOD is pleas'd to inflict. All his Power and ill-gotten Pelf cannot ſo much alleviate his Grief, as Remorſe of Conſcience, Fear of Puniſhment, and Mens Hatred, enhaunce it. Nay, theſe evil Remedies often turn to Poiſon; and what we make uſe of to allay our Sorrow, generally adds to it.

A greedy Deſire of Riches, murders the Soul.

Are there not a great many, who can ſet no Bounds to their inſatiable Deſire of Riches; but would ſwell with Titles of Honour, lord it over all, appear in the greateſt Luxury and State, make coſtly and delicious Entertainments, and drive their impure Sentiments to the Head? Whatever they have amaſs'd by their Villany, inſtead of ſatisfying their vicious Deſires, does but the more inflame them; and they ſtand more in need of the Severity of the Laws, than good Advice to reform them. Men of ſound Judgment are, therefore, invited to preſerve the Juſtice, which the Laws have eſtabliſh'd. Equity, which takes its Origine from Nature, and may be call'd the Bond of Civil

Equity.

Society, teaches us, that unjuſt Actions ought never to be undertaken, either by the Weak who would be unſucceſsful, or by the Powerful, who, when they have actually committed them, do not meet with the Repoſe they expected, nor the Accompliſhment of their Deſires. This obliges us to own, that Juſtice is not deſirable for itſelf, but becauſe it procures us much Content, and renders our Life more ſecure.

Every one is govern'd by his Star.

THE firſt and principal Knowledge that a Man that comes into the World ought to have is, to know his Star; for every one has his own; and it is for want of knowing it, that many Perſons ſpoil their Fortune. How many Men do we ſee in Favour, who can give no other Account, how they came to be known to Great Men, than that it was owing to their Deſtiny? Nevertheleſs, when a fair Entrance is once made, and a Perſon is ſettled in a Poſt to be envied, a ſmall matter of Conduct will maintain him in it. We ought carefully to ſtudy our Deſtiny.

The Merit of others ought not to aſtoniſh us.

WE ought not to be ſo frightned at the Merit of others, that the Idea of it ſhould make us tremble before them; for, as proud as we are of the Favour of a Man of a great Reputation, after a little Knowledge of him, we find that great Abatements muſt be made, out of what Common Fame gives him; and that every one has his *Foible*, which reduces him as near the Common Sort, as he is diſtinguiſh'd from them by his Merit. Men in Promotion dazzle if view'd at a Diſtance; but when you draw near them, their Perſonal Failings ſufficiently qualify the mighty Gliſtering, which is deriv'd from

from their Rank and Dignity. We ought to keep Guard againſt the Empire, which a prejudiced Imagination may acquire over Reaſon. An Ingenious Man ought no more to be *baſhful*, than an Ignorant one *bold*.

WHATEVER Deſigns we form, we ſhould know how to undertake 'em *à-propos*; for it is not ſufficient, to begin, but we muſt know alſo how to manage, an Enterprize. Many Men are fit only to cut out an Affair; and it is impoſſible for them to finiſh it. Hence it is, that great Victories have been often gain'd to no purpoſe; becauſe Men contented themſelves only with the Fruits of the Victory, when they ſhould have purſu'd their Advantages. And 'tis from the ſame Principle, that a Man in a high Station commits the ſame Errours in Publick Affairs, as a Private one does in his own Family.

We ought to conſider the End of what we undertake.

WHEN Meaſures are rightly taken in all Particulars, and a Man's Actions are proſperous; let him take great Care not to be tranſported with thoſe Illuſions and Flatteries, which Self-Love inſpires into ſuch as are too fond of the leaſt Succeſs. There is as much Moderation required, not to ſwell too high in Proſperity; as Patience, not to be too much dejected in Adverſity. We ſhould always have it in our Power, to ſtop in the midſt of the moſt favourable Enterprizes. The Torrent of Proſperity ought not to drive us againſt our Will. It is often neceſſary, not to puſh a Victory as far as it might be. A prudent Retreat is as glorious as a bold Attack. Nothing but a ſeaſonable Adieu to the World, can ſecure to us the Honour we have acquired in't; and it is

We ſhould not flatter ourſelves with a little Succeſs.

is the Character of consummate Merit, to live nobly in Retirement, after having made a great Figure in the World.

The True Gentleman. A Gentleman never thinks himself happy, unless those, who have to do with him, are so too. 'Tis this unanimous Regard that completes his Felicity. To arrive successfully at this Degree of Goodness, he must have an excellent Genius, and a generous Heart; and these Two must be exactly agreeable to each other. By his fine Genius, he is instructed what is most just and reasonable to say and do; and his generous Heart always puts him forward to act and speak what is most reasonable and most just. He that has but one of these Two Parts, cannot pretend to be an accomplish'd Gentleman; for, to what purpose does his Greatness of Mind distinguish what is Reason and Justice, if the Sincerity of his Heart does not make a Party? Nothing is done or finish'd. Also, if a Person be never so true-hearted, yet, if he wants the Assistance of a Genius for his Director, he continually gropes in the dark, without knowing what Party he should espouse. These Two are essential to complete a Gentleman; and if it is rare to see them separately, how excellent is it, when they both meet together? But, whenever they do meet in the same Subject, they produce every thing of Great, and Equitable, and Charming, and Reasonable! A Man of this Character is a good Subject, a good Father, a good Friend, a good Citizen, a good Master. He is indulgent, humane, helpful, and commiserating the Misfortunes of others. He is circumspect and modest; and is neither finical, nor affected.

He

He obſerves the Imperfections of others, without ſpeaking of them, or pretending to ſee them. He is not ſelfiſh; but knowing the Occaſions of Life, his Conduct is always regular. He is affected only with real Merit. As for what they call Grandeur, Authority, Fortune, Riches, theſe do not, in the leaſt, enchant him; he diſcerns their Pleaſures and their Pains. This ſometimes, however, obſtructs the Way that leads to his Fortune. Tho' he is a Lover of Wit, he ſets a higher Value upon Reaſon; and admires Truth above all things. He is deſirous to know all things, and values himſelf upon nothing. He prizes every thing according to its intrinſick Worth. Miſtakes and Prejudices do not impoſe upon him, or make the leaſt Impreſſion on his Mind. In ſhort, he never ſays or does any thing, but what is agreeable, juſt, and reaſonable; and tends to the common Benefit of all Mankind.

The World is in Confuſion.

To make the World happy, it were neceſſary to eſtabliſh this noble Principle: But to accompliſh this, it is not ſufficient barely to know it as it is; but how it ought to be, and what would certainly enſue, if all Men acted according to the Dictates of Reaſon. At preſent, Things are in a State of Diſorder and Confuſion. This Nobleneſs of Mind is in little Eſtimation, and its Poſſeſſors are, as it were, in a ſtrange Country. Nevertheleſs, its Reeſtabliſhment would be eaſy to Monarchs. To complete this great Work, it is only neceſſary, to reward the Good, and puniſh the Evil. Were all Men reaſonable, there would be none but natural and inevitable Ills among them; ſuch as Diſtempers, Old Age, and Death. Whereas,

It would be eaſy for Monarchs to eſtabliſh a generous Principle.

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there are now a thousand others; as, Prejudice, Fury, Ambition, Perfidiousness, Ignorance, and Contempt of Learning. A Noble Descent, and the Glory of War, are the only Things which attract the Eyes and Esteem of Men. All other Merit is dull and insipid. It is, indeed, very reasonable, that the Glory acquired by War should meet with its due Reward: The Fatigues, Wounds, and Death itself, to which the Brave so often expose themselves, merit more of Distinction, than is generally given 'em: But, if we compare the Honour which is paid to *them*, with that shewn to the Men who render themselves famous by *other* Arts, we shall find, *they* meet with sufficient Recompence. There is this Misfortune in the Merit of the Soul, that few People understand it; and that, even among those few, some do not regard it. The Case is not so with Riches; every one values them, and obsequiously courts them; as well as all the other Goods of Fortune.

A great Commander ought to be circumspect and composed.

It is requisite, that a great Commander should be very composed and deliberate. He that is too hot, and attempts, with too much Ardour, to conquer at any rate, without regard to the Rules of Military Discipline, or other Obstacles that may obstruct his Victory, will often find himself in the wrong; and his Precipitation cannot but be fatal to him. Necessity must be respected, when she cannot be surmounted; and Prudence and Moderation should determine him to forego the most dazzling Advantages, when neither Stratagem nor Valour can procure them. It is more agreeable to Reason, to suffer the Disgrace of slight

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Diſadvantages, than, by Pride or Paſſion, to hazard ſuch Loſſes, as are irretrievable. *Alexander* might be juſtly blamed, for his frequent Tranſgreſſion of this Rule, and for attempting what he ought not. His Example is more worthy of Admiration, than of Imitation. Tho' Fortune favour'd his Enterprizes, that does not clear them from the Charge of Temerity. We cannot conſider the Obſtacles and Dangers which environ'd them, but his Raſhneſs ſullies, in ſome meaſure, the Rays of his Glory.

To make himſelf ſuperiour to the Enemy, he muſt firſt get the Maſtery over his own Paſſion. There are very few Miſtakes committed in War, but what are owing to the Humour and Paſſion of him that commits them. It is of great Importance, to be Maſter of a Man's Self, and to know how to diſſemble the Affronts and Inſults of the Enemy, when Fortune has been favourable to them; till having, by an apparent Acknowledgment of his Weakneſs or Inſufficiency, given them Time to grow careleſs and invigilant, he may find an Opportunity to make them repent their Preſumption. Neither ought a General to be leſs capable of reſtraining himſelf, when he meets with good Succeſs; leſt Victory ſhould give him the ſlip, whilſt he is endeavouring to puſh her too far. *He ought to have the Maſtery over himſelf;*

The great Excellency of a General conſiſts in knowing how to ſet Bounds to his Victory. There is a certain Point, to which he is allow'd to drive his Advantages. To be afraid to proceed to that Point, or to be deſirous to go beyond it, is, to be ignorant either of his own Strength, or that of the Enemy. *Hannibal*, tho' a great *And ſet Bounds to his Victory.*

great Captain, left his Victory imperfect, after the Battle of *Cannæ*, for want of knowing the juſt Extent he might have given it. In vain did *Maharbal* endeavour to open his Eyes, when that great Action was juſt over; in vain did he promiſe him to ſup in the *Capitol*. *Hannibal* had already reſolv'd what to do; and being too much taken with what he had done, wanted Eyes to ſee what was yet left for him to do. *Alexander*, after the Battle of *Iſſus*, ran into the other Extreme: Fifty thouſand of the Enemy kill'd upon the Spot, the Remainder of the Troops diſpers'd, and the precipitate Flight of *Darius*, could not reſtrain his Impetuoſity. That Conqueror, inſatiable of Glory, would needs take every Advantage, which Fortune ſeem'd to offer him; and that very day, by engaging too far in purſuit of the Enemy, he was ſurpriz'd by a great Body of Cavalry, who renew'd the Fight, and forced him to ſuccomb.

Activity and Vigilance neceſſary in War.

A MAN of a groſs and ſluggiſh Body, is not leſs incapable of Penetration and Attention, than of Action and Vigilance, which procure ſo great Advantages in War. Upon this Account, it was ſaid of *Henry* IV. of *France*, that he would be too hard for the Duke *de Mayenne*, becauſe he was not ſo long in his Bed, as his Enemy was at his Table. That Prince was, indeed, active, vigilant, and patient, under the moſt fatiguing and difficult Enterprizes. Nothing eſcap'd his Cognizance, that paſs'd among the Enemy. He foreſaw all that it was poſſible for them to attempt. He choſe rather to take uſeleſs Precautions, than to neglect ſuch as might be neceſſary. He had no leſs Skill in concealing his own Deſigns from them, than

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Penetration to diſcover theirs, and Activity to prevent them. The Duke *de Mayenne*, on the contrary, was ſlow in Reſolution, negligent in the Purſuit of his Advantages, ſquandering his Time in eating and ſleeping, and ſo lazy in his Cloſet, that he would ſometimes leave Packets of Importance upon his Desk, without ſo much as opening them.

War is a noble Profeſſion.

Of all Profeſſions, that of Arms is, beyond Diſpute, the moſt Noble; ſince 'tis in War, that Great Men and Heroes are form'd. There is no Glory ſo pure, as that which is acquir'd by Arms; but it is like the Flowers that grow upon a Precipice, which to come at is troubleſome, to gather is dangerous. All the Diſtinction that can be made in this Profeſſion, depends upon the Manner of engaging in the Spirit of Military Diſcipline, and the Exactneſs with which a Man at firſt obſerves its Rules. To engage heartily in the Art of Military Diſcipline, he muſt learn, not to inſiſt upon Conveniences, but often abridge himſelf even of things Neceſſary; to undergo Hunger and Thirſt; to be inſenſible of Heat and Cold; and to inure himſelf to all the Injuries of the Air: In ſhort, to be indefatigable, he muſt reſpect his Duty, not his Wants; and acquire a Habit of ſleeping very little, and eaſily in any Place. Nature is ſatisfy'd with a little: We often think, we give her only that which is neceſſary, when we indulge her in Superfluities. Whatever we give her more than is needful, enfeebles and diminiſhes our Strength, and renders the Body unwieldy and unactive: Whereas, that which is abſolutely neceſſary, effectually ſupplies our Wants, preſerves and augments our Strength,

Strength, renders us light and ready for Action, and every way fits us for Martial Employs. But altho' the Vigour of the Body is abſolutely neceſſary, it becomes uſeleſs, if not ſupported by the Diſpoſition of the Mind and Heart. Nothing ſeems toilſome to thoſe, whom Glory animates. When the Heart is elevated, the moſt tedious and difficult Fatigues are tolerable by weakly Conſtitutions. Bodily Pains, as well as Pleaſures, grow habitual, and often do leſs Injury. Impatience and Chagrin, under the Toils of War, tire and conſume a Man, more than the worſt of Fatigues.

Exerciſe ought to be continual.

THOSE who, returning home after a Campagne, give themſelves up to Eaſe and Softneſs, ruin, by their voluptuous Exceſſes, the Vigour they had acquired by Exerciſe and Labour. Repoſe may be *taſted*, after a Fatigue; but it muſt not be made *cuſtomary*. The ſame Conduct is neceſſary in Pleaſures and Diverſions, as in Sieges and Battles. The Pleaſures of *Capua* did the *Carthaginians* more Miſchief than the Battle of *Cannes* did the *Romans*. They loſt, by Luxury and Idleneſs, the Superiority they had acquired by Exerciſe and Labour. The *Romans*, on the contrary, grown hardy by frequent Defeats, inſenſibly overcame their ill Fortune, by obſtinately reſiſting her. The Loſſes they were accuſtom'd to, ſerv'd rather to animate, than diſpirit them: Their Courage always ſuperiour to their Misfortunes, reviv'd their Hopes, even when they had great Cauſe of Deſpair. Hence it was, that in their very Diſgraces they found their Safety, and needed no better Source of Relief than their own Weakneſs.

An Example.

HISTORY

HISTORY, as well ancient as modern, abounds with Examples of Generals addicted to the Pleaſures of the Table, and all of them expoſed to ſome Surprize, by that Vice. *Cyrus* loſt his Life, by ſhewing an Example to his Troops, to give themſelves up to Debauchery and Exceſs. *Aetius*, who commanded for the *Romans* in the *Gauls*, having ſurprized *Clodion*, King of *France*, at a Revelling-Bout in his Tent, took an entire Country from him, made him fly to ſave himſelf, and render'd him uncapable of keeping the Conqueſts he had made on this ſide the *Rhine*. *Voluptuous Living fatal.*

WISDOM, far from being a Reſtraint upon Valour, is that which regulates and gives it Conduct. It is only neceſſary to draw a Sword, to be brave; but a great Commander muſt know how to ſheathe, as well as draw. At *Athens* and *Rome*, formerly, they took the Generals of their Armies out of the *Areopagus* and the *Senate*; and made few conſiderable Officers in their Troops, that were not of the Robe, as well as the Sword; and this, to join the Prudence and Wiſdom of one of thoſe Profeſſions, with the Valour and Courage that ought to be inſeparable from the other. *Alexander*'s Glory ſhined only in proportion as he was wiſe and moderate in his Behaviour. The Reſerv'dneſs he ſhew'd in the Caſe of *Darius*'s Wife, who was eſteem'd the moſt beautiful Princeſs in the World, and whom he ſaw but once during the ſeven Years that ſhe was his Priſoner, for fear he ſhould not be Proof againſt her Charms, which had like to have prov'd dangerous to him; his polite Deportment towards her; the Reſpect and Submiſſion with which her Orders *Wiſdom governs Valour.* *An Example of Alexander.*

were, by his Command, executed, as if she had had the same Sway in his Camp, as in that of *Darius*; Lastly, his most engaging Way and surprizing Endeavours, to alleviate the Misfortune of her present Condition: For all these I say, he was as much esteem'd and admir'd, as for his Victories and Conquests.

Anthony not so religious as Alexander.

By all those great Accomplishments which *Anthony* had, to render him fit for War, it is put beyond question, that he was sufficiently qualified for a great Commander; but he sully'd his Glory by his Debauches, and ignominious Love of *Cleopatra*, who had been *Cæsar's* and perhaps many others before. This excuses good Judges of Merit from doing that great Man's other Talents all the Justice they deserve.

Prudent Women ought not to frequent the Court.

The fair Sex ought to use a great deal of Circumspection in the World, to preserve their Reputation, without which, all those excellent Qualities which render them so commendable, nay, even Beauty itself, signify nothing. The Tenderness of the Men is always fatal to the Reputation of the Women; whose Vertue and Honour are incompatible with Mens assiduous Addresses. The greatest Beauty in the World is not truly amiable, if her Wisdom is not equal to her Form; Neither can she be otherwise happy, than as she is esteem'd. Men have many Opportunities of distinguishing themselves in the World; they may acquire Reputation and Honour in the different Employments to which Fortune, or their Birth, advances them. But Women are only recommended by their Wisdom and Vertue. Beauty is defaced by Time, and the Respect that it gains, is lost with

with it. It is otherwise with the Esteem, which is acquir'd by Vertue; for, this is kept in any Age, and even after Death. The Example of *Emilia* is worthy our Observation; she was brought up by a vertuous Mother, who had retired from *Augustus*'s Court, to lament, without Disturbance, the Loss of her Spouse. This illustrious *Claudia*, being oblig'd to return thither, about her private Affairs, and not able to leave her dear Child behind her; she no sooner appear'd, but every one was charm'd with her Beauty and Modesty; and among the rest, the Emperour himself, whose Daughter *Julia* would needs have her tarry with her. A few days after, *Claudia* died, for very Grief that she had left her Daughter expos'd to the Temptations of the Court. What could become of that charming young Creature in so contagious an Air? There was nothing but Breezes of Pleasure in the Princess's Apartment; nothing wanting to gratify the Senses. Pleasure, which is continually making its Addresses to Youth, and maintains its Empire by the Assistance of Beauty, would expose itself to her there with all its Charms, and represent Vertue after a frightful manner. The Principles of a good Education, the innocent Habits she had contracted in her Infancy, and the Remembrance of the Advice and Wisdom of her Mother, held out, for some time, against the Allurements of Pleasure: She was perplex'd, and o'erwhelm'd in Tears, when she perceiv'd her Heart recoiling from her Duty; but, at last, the Example of *Julia* and the whole Court, and the fatal Sweetness of gratifying an Inclination one has long resisted, dissipated her

Example of Emilia.

Scruples. Thus, the most vertuous Minds are not Proof against ill Example. There have been, in all times, abundance of Women, who would have done Credit to their Sex, had they but avoided the Temptations of Tripping. The Way which leads from Vertue to Pleasure is much shorter, than that which leads from Pleasure to Vertue. All the Princess *Julia*'s Flatterers were, at last, turn'd away, and she herself banish'd; and *Emilia* being sensible that she had imitated her Vices, spent the rest of her days in a shameful Obscurity.

Nice Conduct to be observ'd towards the Ladies.

A Man must carry himself with much more Circumspection towards a nauseated Mistress than towards one with whom he is still enamour'd. You may do any thing with the Ladies if you do but love 'em. Disrespect, Ill-Manners, Rudeness, nay Injuries, are Faults so easily pardon'd, that they create a secret Pleasure when they are the Effect of the Passion that have given Birth to. It is quite otherwise when Love grows cold; all the Circumspection, all the Nicety you are capable of, signify nothing: The Injuries offer'd to their Beauty by an Indifference, go much nearer their Heart than those done their Honour thro' Indiscretion.

Of Satyr.

Satyr has ever been one of the most general Vices predominant among Men; and yet it is to be observ'd, that those who are the most addicted to it, do not well understand their Interests. They think to divert the Public at the Expence of those whom they declare War against; and it often costs themselves more than the others. Every one is pleas'd with Satyr; but who regards its Authors

thors? Thoſe malicious Tempers have more Penetration than others, to diſcover Faults, and leſs Goodneſs to pardon them. He is a ſort of Enemy, who obſerves another's Diſcourſe or Actions, only to find ſomething to carp at; who dives to the bottom of the Soul, to diſcover Sentiments liable to Cenſure; who begins to give a Character of a Perſon, as ſoon as ever he has ſeen him; and who ſtudies to make him appear what he is not. If we are tender of our Reputation, and ſenſible of our Intereſts, with what an Eye can we look upon thoſe critical and dangerous Perſons, who ſift us, only to take an Advantage to our Prejudice, and examine us, on purpoſe to expoſe us in their Writings? Satyr may be either general, or particular. *General* Satyr condemns the Faults, which are not chargeable on any *particular* Perſon. When we are conſcious to ourſelves, that we are ſubject to ſuch Failings, we make the Application in private; and it is much better for Us to make it, than if the Satyriſt ſhould do it himſelf, by deſcribing our Perſons. And therefore, *general* Satyr is more efficacious, and leſs ſuſpected of Malice, than *particular* Satyr. The one falls foul on the Crimes, ſeparately from the Perſon; the other attacks them in the Perſon itſelf, and diſobligingly makes a Shew of him it repreſents, to the whole World. Every one is at liberty to laſh Vice in general, without being found fault with, for ſo doing; becauſe we are all obliged to have an Averſion for that which is evil in itſelf; and ſhould take it very kindly of a Man who warns us of any thing hurtful to us, in order to our avoiding it. But the Caſe is not

Satyr twofold; general, and particular.

the ſame with reſpect to particular Satyr: It is malicious and offenſive, becauſe it expoſes Failings which ought to be conceal'd, and re-prov'd in ſecret: It is unjuſt, in that we may do thoſe a real Miſchief, in whom we diſcover ſuch Defects, by unveiling 'em to the very Perſons, on whom ſometimes their Fortune entirely depends: It claſhes with the Politeneſs and good Breeding we ought to ſhew towards each other in Civil Society, by the Rule whereof we are obliged to tell one another of our Faults and Imperfections, in private: In a word, it is repugnant to the Maxims of Religion, by which we are forbidden to diſturb the Peace there ought to be among us, or to incur Mens Hatred and Revenge, by venturing to do 'em a Miſchief.

Of Friendſhip and Gratitude.

THE World is full of Pretenders and Hypocrites in Friendſhip. Mean time, 'tis certain that Friendſhip is a meer Trade; and, as ſuch ought to be fairly managed. He that has put moſt in it, ought to receive moſt from it: No ſhould any be ſuffer'd to break it, without coming to an Account. But where are the Men who reckon right in this Particular, and don't put the leaſt Diſcourteſy in the Scale, againſt Services of the greateſt Importance?

Of the Vanity of the Heart.

EVERY one boaſts his genteel Temper. 'Tis a modiſh Vanity this, go where you will; for that be Men never ſo guilty of it, you ſhall never ſee 'em bluſh. Moreover, every one preſcribes to himſelf a Rule of Gratitude, always commodious for himſelf, always incommodious for his Friends. *Tacitus* gives us the Reaſon of this: *'Tis becauſe our own Gratitude,* ſays he, *ſhewn at our Expence, and other Mens to our Profit*

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He that does Good, becauſe he thinks himſelf obliged to do it, always does it againſt the Grain: He looks upon his Duty as a peeviſh Maſter; and endeavours to get rid of it, and to ſhake off the Yoke. The Offices of Friends have I know not what of Life and Vigour in them, which is always beforehand with our Neceſſities, and even prevents our Deſires. To Friends every thing ſeems eaſy; and we are ſometimes obliged to reſtrain them, and allay the Heat which moves 'em to generous Actions. Of theſe it may be truly ſaid, that they reckon they have loſt a day, when they have done nothing in it, to ſerve thoſe they love. But the Honour, which diſguiſes itſelf under the Name of Friendſhip, is nothing but Self-Love, which ſerves itſelf in the Perſon of him it would be thought to ſerve. The Friend, who acts by no better Motives than this, does Good only in proportion as the Care of his Reputation prevails with him. He ſtops ſhort, as ſoon as ever he wants Witneſſes. He is a *Faux-brave*, who looks about him, to ſee whether he is regarded; and a Hypocrite, who gives an Alms unwillingly, paying that Tribute to GOD, only to deceive Men.

Another ſort of [illegible] at their own Satisfaction only.

Other Friends there are, whoſe only Drift is to pleaſe themſelves. This inward Law, which they go by, makes them faithful and beneficial; but in all their Actions you diſcern a ſneaking Regularity, which puzzles thoſe they oblige. They do every thing by Weight and Meaſure. Wo to him that wants their Service, when once they think they have diſcharg'd their Duty. If they have nothing to reproach themſelves with, another Man's Miſ-

fortune never troubles them. They rather grieve, that it is ſo ſoon at an end; and ſometimes make it laſt, on purpoſe to make their Glory laſt. They applaud themſelves; and ſecretly triumph for a Diſgrace which gives them Occaſion to ſignalize themſelves. Far from endeavouring, by the ſpeedieſt Methods to relieve You, they do all they can to blazon their Own Honour. They never walk without ſtamping; and look upon their Friends as Victims offer'd up to their Reputation. Theſe kind of Perſons love none but themſelves; and if They believe, they merit no Reproach, We may fairly conclude, they deſerve no Thanks.

Another ſort by Likeneſs of Temper.

In the Friendſhip, which is animated by Honour or Duty, has ſomewhat of Languid and Troubleſome, ſuch as is owing to a Likeneſs of Temper, or Partnerſhip in Pleaſure, is much more ſubject to Change. We are ſometimes out of Conceit even with ourſelves; and it is ſtill eaſier, to grow weary of others. The End of Friendſhip is leſs dependent on our Will than the Beginning. There is no Sympathy ſo perfect, as not to have *ſome* Allay of Contrariety; no Agreeableneſs Proof againſt a continual Familiarity. The fineſt Paſſion becomes ridiculous by Age; and the ſtricteſt Friendſhip moulders away with Time. Every day takes ſomething from it. We tire ourſelves, and are troubleſome to others.

Another for their Diverſion.

But when, for the ſake of our Diverſion only, we knit the Knot of Friendſhip; how eaſily is it broken? Abſence, Buſineſs, or even the Croſſes of Life, may untie it. New Pleaſures enjoy'd with New Friends, efface the Remembrance of paſt Delights. The firſt

Sweet

Sweets of each Engagement have I know not what Charms, which excite our Deſires to engage yet farther. As ſoon as they are more ſolid, they cloy. There be Men that can love, or ceaſe to love, according as they are well, or ſick. All that we can reaſonably demand of the Fickle, is, that they would be ſo ingenuous as to own their Levity, and not add Treachery to their Inconſtancy.

Of False-heartedneſs.

That which we call *False-heartedneſs*, is very often a Defect of Nature. Good Men have, in their ſtricteſt Friendſhips, Intervals of Languor and *Relache*, the Cauſe of which they do not always know. This Languor not being ſupported, it proves, at laſt, the Bane of Friendſhip, if Honour does not come in to its Relief. 'Tis *Honour* that ſometimes labours to conceal the Defects of the Soul, acts the Part of Tenderneſs, and ſalves the Appearances for ſome time, till the Inclination is revived, and recovers its firſt Vigour. I don't ſpeak of the formal, modiſh Honour, which puts us to Charges by its ridiculous Rules and Faſhions; but of Right Reaſon, which is reconcil'd with the Imperfections of our Nature, rectifies them as well as it can, is an Enemy to Affectation, ſeeks to do Good for Good-ſake, is a Stranger to the By-roads of Self-Love, is always ready to do Kindneſſes, thinks it has never done enow, neither admires itſelf, nor deſires the Applauſe or Admiration of the World: Theſe two Qualities, therefore, ſtand in need of each other; that if Honour without Friendſhip wants Charms, Friendſhip ſupported by Honour may be more ſtable and ſecure.

There

It were to be wish'd, we could bear the Death of our Friends without Regret.

THERE be Men who are extremely afflicted at the Death of their Friends; and others who bear their Loss with Patience and Constancy. It were to be wish'd, that all had the same Firmness. What, then, ought we to have no Concern for the Death of our Friends? It were better we had not, if possible. This Passion is altogether ruinous; and if it were good for any thing, it would be only to let People see we love. But if Tears were the certain Marks of Love, the greatest Mourners would be the greatest Lovers; and Experience teaches us the contrary. Weak Women weep more than such as are strong; and yet the Love of these is greater than that of the Weak. Tho' Tears are valuable in the Opinion of Poets; nothing is more despicable in that of Philosophers. The Reason is, because the brightest Parts of Poetry are borrow'd from the Passions, and the Weakness of Nature; whereas Philosophy has its Noble from the Vertues, and Strength of Mind. One represents to us a *Niobe* dissolving in Tears at the Death of her Children; the other a *Cornelia*, who bears, with dry Eyes, the Loss of her whole Family. *Niobe* is extremely tender; *Cornelia* very courageous. They are both good Mothers. For which of 'em shall we declare? Doubtless, we must admire *Cornelia*, and pity *Niobe*. This is a just Decision of the Matter. *Niobe* yields to Grief; Grief yields to *Cornelia*. We should pity such as are conquer'd by Grief; and applaud those by whom Grief is conquer'd.

We should not indulge ourselves in Sorrow.

BUT if it be impossible for us to get rid of our Grief, when we please; we may choose, however, whether we will indulge it, and even remove

remove it, by taking our Thoughts off of diſmal Objects, and placing them upon ſuch as are agreeable; for, all our Sorrows depend upon the Application of our Thoughts. But would it be decent, then, not to think any more of our Friends, when once they are bury'd? It is indifferent whether we do, or not. However, not to argue againſt the general Opinion of all Mankind, we muſt ſay, that, at leaſt, it it not decent to prolong our Weakneſs by our Thoughts. We have then a decent Remembrance of our deceaſed Friends, when we think of them with Prudence; and we then think of 'em with Prudence, when we have an agreeable and quiet Remembrance of them. We muſt by no means ſay, that becauſe it is honourable to love, therefore it is decent to regret what we have lov'd; inaſmuch as Friendſhip is a Vertue, which cannot but be decent; and Grief is a Paſſion, which, at beſt, is but excuſable.

We ſhould moderate the Violence of our Deſires.

NOTHING can be of greater Uſe and Importance to a Man who is for enjoying the Comforts of Life, than to ſubdue his moſt violent Paſſions, and reduce his impetuous Deſires to the ſimple Motions which are call'd Wiſhes. Mean time, as there is no Man, but has ſome particular Inclination, and favourite Paſſion, 'tis not an eaſy Matter to become indifferent. Every one is willing to lighten his Chains; and there is no Tie ſo ſtrong, but Reaſon and Experience can break in Time. In a word, as the moſt agreeable Objects have ſomewhat Diſagreeable; doubtleſs, the Soul loſes a great deal of the Violence of its Deſires, by any Diſtaſte. Then Man riſes inſenſibly above the World.

World. The Pleasures he once so earnestly sought after, are now become insipid to him. He then sees of what Importance it is, to know the just Value of Glory, and the Trouble and Satisfaction that is found in Learning; so as never to expect any thing but what he can obtain, never hope for that which it is impossible he should enjoy.

They change and soar.

These things consider'd, who ought to despair of a happy Change? Will not such whose Fate has always tied 'em down to pay Submission and Obedience, aspire at the Glory of Command? Will not the Poor, however press'd with Misery and Want, place their Felicity in a Tide of Plenty? The Infamous, who are loaded with Remorse of Conscience, and tormented with the racking Thought of their past Villanies, will they not count those happy, who are honour'd and esteem'd by all good Men? Will not such as are busy in the Crowd, wish for the Repose of Men in Solitude? — We are tired with the Noise and Pageantry of the Court; and Groves and Meadows become insupportable to us. But he that has never experienced it, can hardly conceive how that *Nausea* should happen.

Every thing tires us.

In short, we may grow weary of our own Conditions, but not of those we are Strangers to. I shall, therefore, instruct you, as well as I can, how to know the Vanity of all things.

Tho' you are not Master of the greatest Estate, the highest Merit, and the most excellent Qualifications; you may easily pry into the Condition of those, who, by their Fortune or Merit, have acquir'd them all, and inform yourself of the Cares that consume them. You'll find

find them afflicted with the ſame Diſtempers as other Men, and liable to all the Misfortunes which Nature inflicts. You will ſee a Scholar, incapable of defending himſelf againſt Caprice and Folly; a feeble Hero, full of Failings, and as much Man, as thoſe he is above; and the greateſt Originals in *Europe* as ſubject to private Failings, as the meaneſt Copies. In a word, you will find, that it is impoſſible to ſubdue Nature, and to raiſe ones ſelf above the Condition it has pleas'd GOD to allot us. They are, indeed, Great Men, compar'd with others; but in themſelves are always feeble, unequal, and defective in ſome part or other. Splendor and Magnificence do not give Satisfaction to all whom they ſet off. Exceſs of Pleaſure oftner cloys, than ſatisfies us; and all the united Advantages of Nature and Fortune cannot form a complete Happineſs.

Concluſion upon this Head.

THIS Conſideration will allay the Heat of our Deſires, and, perhaps, take off our Affection from the lovely'ſt and moſt charming Objects: And then we ſhall ſeek our Pleaſures without Inquietude, enjoy 'em without Paſſion, and loſe 'em without Regret.

Men of Letters, for the moſt part, content themſelves with a ſuperficial Knowledge of the Sciences.

MOST Men of Letters content themſelves, now-adays, with a bare ſuperficial Knowledge of ſome Part of the Mathematicks, which produces nothing but a ſorry Amuſement, or, at beſt, a very uncertain Diſpoſition to diſcharge ſeveral Places of great Truſt, for the Succeſs whereof Men judge themſelves reſponſible. The Reading of Modern Books is a Means to contract the Wit, and to bring it into ſuch a narrow Compaſs, that it may be entirely exhauſted in the Choice of Words, or in ranging

them

them in nice Order, to make a Noise among the Lovers of Novelty; while the Discussion of things is so far neglected, and so irregular withal, that the Wits of the Age cannot make shift to agree upon any one Point; so strangely are they divided by the false Light that dazzles most of their Eyes. The Conversation even of Men of Quality is of a piece with their Education and Prejudices rivetted in the Soul, for want of applying themselves to any Business which requires a complete Gentleman. The more you conform yourself to them, the more superficial you become, as well as they; and thro' this Seducement, authoriz'd by Custom, Merit, as well as Vertue, dwindles, and is already almost grown out of Knowledge.

A Critical Reflexion. But perhaps, some Critick will say, What signifies all this, to the forming a wise Man, who is affected with Religion? Why, 'tis to give a Sketch of Wisdom in Civil Society. If it were as true, as the impious Libertines would have it, that we had but one Life to live; we might, indeed, suppose, that such an Education would suffice; but in one part of the World only: For, the Maxims of Humanity are so different, that those follow'd in one Country, are very often not so much as tolerated in another. Suppose, I am allow'd a Part of myself, so as to think, remember things past, and form a thousand probable Conjectures of what is to come: Leave me my infinite Desires, and a secret Concern that I cannot satisfy 'em: Suppose the Impossibility of suppressing in me the Desire still to be, when I shall be no more: And that, after all this,

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Men pretend to deny me another Life, and an immaterial, immortal Part of myself: What-ever they build upon so false a Prejudice, does not satisfy me, because I find it does not sufficiently persuade me, to remove my Scruples, and answer the Objections my Reason starts against those natural Emotions, which the Passions of my Mind would render agreeable to me. These must, sooner or later, be abandon'd: Too many great Wits have yielded to them: Too many have repented, they did not quit 'em betimes. How is it, then, that Men continue in this Errour, but because they take no care to prevent it betimes? This Negligence is the great Source of Atheism and Irreligion. A Man ought to be early instructed in the Means to avoid it, or, at least, to quit it, when evil Company have engag'd him in it. There is no Medium between these Two; Either you must deny, that there is another Life, which will be everlasting; Or else, you must prepare yourself for it with greater Circumspection, than for that which is but transitory. It is even impossible to do the Duties of this as we ought, unless our Minds are prepossess'd with strong Impressions of the other.

A more weighty Consideration upon this Head.

A Proposition of so great Importance cannot be duly consider'd with a slight Reflexion; it must be handled more than once, to be fast riveted in the Soul. The Order of Nature has nothing, but what it is indebted for, either to Society, or to the Superiour Law which so dispos'd of it. If we assign nothing but Society, for the Principle of that Order, we authorize the Disorders which naturally proceed from the Opposition of so many contrary

trary Maxims and Interests, and fall into an endless Confusion, to which, Cruelty, Injustice, Tyranny, and open Force, may give any Name whatever, without its ceasing, for all that, to be a Disorder in Society. On the other hand, if we admit a Superiour Law, whose wise Dispensation has a Right to determine, we lie under an absolute Necessity to submit to it, or to oppose it. If we oppose it, we declare ourselves in Fault, the very Moment we fail in our Subordination: If we submit to it, we must do it out of Reason, and of Choice. And hence it follows, that we are Free-Agents. When Reason determines us to this Submission, we ought to have consider'd the Consequences. Rewards and Punishments naturally attend the Laws. Both these may, therefore, have determin'd us; and in that case, we cannot deny ourselves the secret Conviction, that we receive a Pleasure in submitting, and a Disagreeableness in rebelling. But that one or the other may make the greater Impression, we must have suppos'd in ourselves a Principle capable of the Consequences of that Reward and of that Punishment.

That the Mind ought to be prepar'd for this Conviction.

And thus, the Mind of Man ought, as it were, insensibly to be prepar'd for this great Conviction; That there is within him, and ever will be, whether he will or not, a Part of himself which cannot die, and will never let him rest, even in his most Darling Vices; That the secret Reproof he will often receive, in the Course of his Life, upon the Account of his Conduct, will be so many Proofs of this Truth. That his Inability of entirely stifling such Remorse, is a Presage of the Immortality of a re-

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claiming Principle; That the secret Repugnance, or inevitable Caution, us'd in the Commission of evil Actions, is a tacit Declaration of the Rights of that Principle; That the inward Calm which will sit upon his Mind, after the Doing of any good Action, is an incontestable Evidence of the Part which Reason takes, in opposing Corruption; and, That all these invite us to a more extensive Circumspection, than the Order and Dispensation of Civil Life. These Impressions always increasing, and gathering Strength by Knowledge, the Principles of *Christianity* will, by the Strength of such a Conviction, be easily inculcated into a Soul form'd for that Subordination. Whence we must necessarily conclude, that to make a lively Impression, we must act according to the Principles of Religion, and know what it is, to be a *Christian*.

Religion is the Foundation of all Duties.

As Religion is the Ground of all Duties, 'tis morally impossible a Man should have any real Merit, if he has not sound Principles of Religion. He that is not perfectly acquainted with the Principles of Natural Morality, the Foundation of Laws, their Difference, Obligations, Dependence, Vicissitude, and the Principles of their Contradiction, with respect to the different Persons, who are appointed to put them in Execution; How can such a Man, I say, pretend to frame an Idea of the *Spiritual Being*, which assumes Prerogatives over the Senses, without destroying them; and to which Prerogatives we are all obliged to submit, under pain of an Eternal *Anathema?* or to comprehend the Nature and just Punishment of a Prevarication, the Motive, and Object, and Occasion whereof

hē does by no means understand? How many things do the Impressions of a debauch'd Mind make unintelligible to us, which had been easy enough, if we had but prevented the Corruption of our Minds! Suppose, for Instance, a Man accustom'd, when first he has the Use of Reason, to hear, or give it as his own Judgment, that as GOD produces nothing but what is Perfect, 'tis not likely, that Man, who is his most excellent Work, came out of his Hands in the State of Misery and Corruption, in which we find ourselves; That this Imperfection must necessarily have had a Cause, since it produces such dismal Effects; That the Crimes and Disorders, which disturb Society, are the natural Consequences of that Imperfection; and, That Man must needs have brought 'em upon himself, thro' his own Fault, since he so visibly bears the Punishment of 'em. This Conviction growing stronger with Time, would certainly oblige him to adore and fear that *first Being*, which he can never rightly comprehend during this Life: To adore him, that he has never exercis'd all his Prerogatives over him, but even us'd him like an indulgent Father. To fear him, because he may only have deferr'd that great Punishment, the Scantlings whereof have not been able to bring him to his Duty, and keep him in Submission. Would not this be an effectual Means to imprint *Christianity* deep in the Mind of Man, and to accustom him to such a constant and firm Submission, that nothing would be able to shake those Principles, for want of which, most of your Men of Quality, and even of Learning, are now so wavering, and mimick the *Beaux Esprits*, in propo-

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tion as they have Skill or Intereſt to raiſe their Doubts into Preſumptions, contrary to the Impreſſions and Maxims of Religion.

Two Objections againſt the preceding Paragraph.

Two Objections may be made againſt what I have above propounded. The firſt is, That Man is not, in his Youth, capable of ſuch Deductions, which, tho' regulated by a ſolid Mind, are nevertheleſs very imperfect, and liable to great Diſputes. The ſecond is, That Religion being the Fruit of Liberty, a young Man muſt be diſpos'd thereto, by ſound Judgment, or an Infuſion of GOD's Grace; and not be too early ſurcharg'd with certain Precepts, which rather clip the Wings of Liberty, than extend them, and not being always agreeable to the natural Impreſſion of him that receives them, (perhaps, thro' Unevenneſs of Temper, or the Meaſure of Grace being ſo differently pour'd forth into Mens Hearts) often make up a Contradiction, which ſerves for a Pretext of Looſeneſs of Manners, or for a Motive not to reform.

Firſt Objection anſwer'd.

The firſt of theſe Objections may be anſwer'd by a very familiar Compariſon. Is the Earth judg'd capable of producing Corn in the Month of *November?* Why, then, all that Trouble and Expence in preparing and manuring it, and afterwards in ſowing the Seed? The thing explains itſelf: But the Manner of cultivating the Earth, and ſo preparing it, is worthy of a ſecond Reflexion. The richer the Soil, the more Pains muſt be taken with it, to hinder Weeds from taking Root, and growing therein. And can it be deny'd, that this perfectly agrees with the Education of Men, which ought to be ſo much the more exact and regular, by how much greater their Wit is diſ-

cover'd to be. This Distribution well order'd, and dispens'd with more of Wisdom than of Zeal, is a Seed early implanted in the Mind, where it takes such deep Root, that, however barren and cold Youth may be for the Things of another Life, it shoots forth in due time, and has a new Increase with every Return of Heat. If the Seed of a Ground, not well clear'd of foreign Weeds, produces nothing but Confusion in the Harvest; you may easily judge, whether the Seeds of Morality can have a better Fruit, when it is neither purg'd from Illusion, separated from Corruption, nor set above Ignorance.

Second Objection answer'd.

To the second Objection, I answer, That tho' Religion is the Fruit of Liberty, it does not therefore cease to be the Fruit of Reason too. If we examine the Matter thorowly, the Use of Liberty will be found very much to anticipate the Use of Reason; And that reasonable and deliberate Choice, so much talk'd of, and so little understood, is rather a Proportion of Habit, than an absolute Determination of Knowledge. For the same Reason that Men cultivate the Mind, to make it fruitful, they ought to sow the Heart, to make it spring; so that, in the very Rubs which would choak it, this precious Seed may appear so firmly rooted, as to grow up with Reason, and gather Strength enough to resist the Sophisms of the Imagination. As, in *Youth*, the Heart does not rule the Mind, but this is more impatient to know, than to enjoy; doubtless, the Heart should be *then* dispos'd to Enjoyment, by the Impressions which flatter or prevent the Mind. Every one may believe what he pleases, concern-

cerning this Matter; but we are convinced by the Examples of all Ages and Sexes, and even of ſeveral Nations; as well as by the ſincere Confeſſion of wiſe and learned Men; that the preſent great Decay of Religion, the general Irreſolution in Spiritual Concerns, and the almoſt-forgotten Practice of *Chriſtian* Maxims, is purely owing to this fatal and abominable Negligence, of not preparing the Mind, while Men are yet in their tender Age, for the Duties and Practices of Religion.

The Conſcience is, as it were, the Cradle of the Moral Vertues,

How can he, who has never learnt, that the Conſcience is, as it were, the Cradle of the Moral Vertues, where they thrive according to the natural Diſpoſitions thereof, and take Root in proportion as they are cultivated by Grace and Free-Will; I ſay, how will this Man be able to conceive, that the Moral Vertues are the Canals of the Infus'd and Divine? How will he apprehend, that the Difference of Tempers is the firſt Intimation, and ſecret Evidence, of Predeſtination? How will he be perſuaded, that to become Religious in the Law of GOD, he muſt have a Fund of Probity, Juſtice, Equity, and a natural Pleaſure in Truth and Goodneſs? We generally diſpenſe with the Maxims and Practices of Religion, only becauſe we would not be tied to thoſe Meaſures of Probity, Juſtice, and Pleaſure in Truth and Goodneſs; but it falls out quite contrary to what we promiſe ourſelves. We fancy, we may be thorowly acquainted with all thoſe Vertues, without the Help of Religion; but that is a great Miſtake. The Difference of their Practice in ſeveral Countries, evinces, that they are but meer Names, which every

one interpretes as he pleases, when they have not an universal or supernatural End; and they can have neither of these, unless they are directed by an Intention that disposes 'em to it: Neither can the Intention produce Uprightness, if it has it not. This Uprightness is the first Law or natural Religion; whereof Positive Divinity is but the Commentary, or, at most, the Production; and the Gospel its Accomplishment and Perfection. But this is to return to the Necessity of admitting Principles of Universality and Spirituality, which, tho' now unknown to so many Persons, might remedy abundance of Errours and Disorders, if they were inculcated in the Minds of young Men.

Probity cannot subsist without Religion; nor Religion without Probity.

No Probity without Religion; no Religion without Probity: Take 'em which way you will, they are alike true. No Justice without an humble Subordination to a superiour Law and no sincere Submission without Justice. The Alternative is most certain. No Equity without Rules of Conduct; no Rules of Conduct without Equity. There is nothing less true in a Proposition which cannot be divided without Violence. Lastly, No Pleasure in real Goodness, without a Liking of Religion; and no Compliance with the laborious Practices of Religion without this Pleasure and inward Unction which revives the Heart. To go about to form a Man for Probity, Justice, Equity, and Pleasure in Good things, without instructing him in the Maxims of Religion; is to shew him only a painted and superficial Decorum; for what Equity, Justice, or Probity, can he have if they are not grounded upon Religion? But perhaps, you will say, the Practices of Religion

are inſpired; And is that ſufficient, becauſe 'tis impoſſible to diſcuſs this Point? I reply, that thoſe Practices will not reſiſt the firſt Emotions of Self-Love; and that as ſoon as he has an Opportunity of uſing his Liberty, Man will not find in himſelf a Diſpoſition even to remember thoſe Practices, which, for want of being ſtrongly imprinted in his Mind, ſuccomb to every thing that can flatter his Deſires, and gratify his natural Inclinations.

Why Probity and Round-Dealing is ſo rare.

'Tis becauſe theſe Maxims were not inculcated into the Minds of young Perſons, (whoſe Paſſions grow ſtronger, as They grow older) that we ſee ſo little Probity and Sincerity among *Chriſtians*, and even among thoſe who are preſum'd to be the moſt regular and ſevere. Hence proceed the Church's Tears, the State's Confuſion, and the Diſcord and Jarring of Families. Hence it is, that the Publick Intereſt is ſacrificed to Private; Youth diſſolute and licentious; Man's Life a Series of Impoſture, and violated Faith; Old Age a Medley of Malice and Injuſtice; and Death itſelf a Denial of it, or Puniſhment for it. As theſe Diſorders muſt be attributed to the Flaws of Education, 'tis eaſy to judge, whether this Diſcuſſion is of ſo little Importance, as the Men of the Times would have it.

Conſcience a kind of Medium betwixt the Mind and Heart.

We may go farther yet, and affirm, that he that does not apprehend, that the Conſcience is, as it were, a kind of Medium between the Mind which enlightens it, and the Heart which forces it, will not eaſily conceive, that that inward Delectation, which is infus'd into our Hearts, after an impenetrable manner, by Grace, or ſprings from the exact Knowledge and Reliſh

of Goodness, is the sole Foundation of *Christian* Resistance, and the Defence of our Integrity against all carnal and forbidden Pleasures. Nothing but this secret Delectation can make the Heart amends for what it denies itself, to obey a Law entirely opposite to the Emotions of Sense; and without this secret Compensation, all the Authority of Revelation will never be able to hinder the Conscience from suffering itself to be drawn aside by the Passions of the Heart. How can he be ignorant of these original Principles of Vertue, and Resistance of Evil, and venture to promise himself the Power of doing it with Success and Perseverance? 'Tis only in an exact Discussion of humane Actions, the Laws, and their Opposites, that the first Principles of this Knowledge are to be learnt. These Notions are always confus'd and late, when they are to be got by Age and Experience. We cannot, therefore, omit them in Education, without failing in the principal Part which ought to form a Gentleman.

That all the Sciences are defective, without the general Principle.

Suppose you have attain'd to the Knowledge of the *Belles Lettres*; laid up in your Memory, History taken in all its Senses; Ethicks every way consider'd; Physicks in their utmost Extent; Logick made easy in all its Mazes; and Politicks refin'd to the highest degree of Profound and Excellent: Nay, grant your Judgment began very early to make all these your own; and that your Talents, seconding this Fertility, evince, that you have perfectly succeeded in informing yourself as to all the Duties of Civil Life: I ask you, whether you have learnt the Art, and contracted the Habit, of making your Mind and Heart agree in a just

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Proportion, which maintains a natural Harmony therein? You will not, ſurely, anſwer, that your Endeavours have wrought this good Effect, unleſs you intimate the Cauſe or general Principle, which regulates the Whole, namely, Religion. If you maintain the Contrary, you will meet with too many Oppoſers. Much leſs, I fancy, will you allow, that without ſuch an inward Reconciliation of the Heart with the Mind, which keeps a perfect Correſpondence between 'em, a Man may attain to the Perfection of Civil Life: Otherwiſe, you will have too many Criticks. Be, therefore, perſuaded, that an Education ſo perfect in Appearance, wants the principal Thing; and that a Man is but ſuperficially form'd, fitter to diſguiſe than conquer himſelf, upon the Symptoms and Corruption of his Heart.

Example of Plato, Socrates, and Seneca.

HAVE we not authentick Proofs of this Truth, in *Plato*, *Socrates*, and *Seneca*? Did their Wiſdom want Culture, Speculation, Diſcuſſion, and Plenitude, when the Sound of their Reputation was heard all the World over? What, for Inſtance, have they not ſaid to us, of the Contempt of the World, and Publick Praiſe; while their Confidents inform us of their Craft, and Deſire of Applauſe? What have they not taught us, concerning Chaſtity, while thoſe who knew 'em perfectly well, aſſure us, their Actions bely'd their Words, and ſpoke 'em Men ſubject to Debauch? What has not *Plato* written to *Socrates*, and *Socrates* to *Plato*, in their familiar Diſcourſes on the vulgar Opinion of the Deity of ſeveral Principles, or of ſeveral Providences; at the ſame time that their Scholars expoſe their Weakneſs, and the ri[illegible]culous

ridiculous Idolatry they publickly profes'd. And whence this Contradiction, but from the Opposition of the Lights of their Mind, to the Motions of their Heart? To their Mind they could not but acknowledge their Conviction; but had not Power to make use of that Opposition, in regulating their Heart. There was nothing certain for the other Life, in a Discovery not yet perfected, which only penetrated thro' the thick Shades of the *Jewish* Law. What wanted they, but that Divine Motive, so worthy the Creator, and the just Man, to reconcile the Misunderstanding between the Mind and the Heart, by a supernatural View, which became common to them; Religion in its Principles, and the Connexion it has with the first Law, or natural Uprightness? And because this Motive was not inspired into those Ancient Sages, with their Reason; Reason could not inspire 'em with any thing that might raise them above themselves.

Illusion in Religious Concerns.

'Tis meer Illusion, to adhere, without Discretion, to the receiv'd, and sometimes extravagant, Practices, in Affairs of Religion. What is taken for pure Devotion, is oftentimes Superstition, or false Observation. Devotion, as well as Religion, is nothing but a Moral Vertue. It may, therefore, have its Excesses; and for all the interested or critical World, one may have too much, as well as too little, of Religion. Nay, farther, Devotion wears out by constant Use; and the Habit, so much talk'd of, unless join'd with Knowledge, and Discretion to establish its Principles, ordinarily degenerates into Insensibility, or *Nausea* for Piety: For, either the Heart grows faint, by

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ſtruggling with itſelf; or thoſe inward Emotions, rather of gratify'd Self-Love, than of affective Grace, flag and are loſt, for want of admitting ſomewhat in their Food, which might raiſe and revive their Drooping. This is neglected in ordinary Education; and 'tis owing to this Defect, that moſt Men have ſo little Reliſh of Good.

Example of a Gardner.

THE *Gardner* knows the Species of Trees by their Leaves; but his Art is very imperfect, if it reaches no farther. He ought to know what Ground, and what Ordering his ſeveral Plants require; what Situation and Aſpect is fitteſt for 'em; in what Seaſons to let 'em grow, and when to cut 'em; without which, he will not only impair the Fruit, but do great Prejudice to the Conſtitution and Life of his Plants. The Compariſon ſpeaks itſelf. 'Tis but a ſmall matter, to adhere preciſely to the Outſide of Religion, be it what it will; ſince every Age has made ſome Alteration therein: And as that which has happen'd to the Practices and Outſide of Religion, will continue to the End of the World; we ſhould learn betimes, that this is but Acceſſory to it, to the end we may ſtick the more firmly and religiouſly to the Principal.

Confuſion in Religion, occaſion'd by Superſtition and Impiety.

WHAT Confuſion and Diſorder has this Tranſpoſition occaſion'd in the *Chriſtian* World? Every thing is taken for Religion by ſome; and almoſt Nothing will paſs for Religion with others. We ſee Superſtition and Impiety reign by Turns, and oftentimes thro' Oppoſition: And which is yet harder to conceive, Fondneſs of Superſtition forwards the Growth of Impiety; and Exceſs of Impiety ſtrengthens Super-

Superſtition. The Superſtitious Man cannot bear with the Irreligion of the Impious, without deteſting his Errour; and out of over-much, miſunderſtood Precaution, leſt he ſhould fall into the like Diſorder, becomes ſtill more ſuperſtitious, becauſe Nothing is believ'd by the Impious. On the other hand, Every thing is Matter of Faith with the Superſtitious; Every thing (as *Salvian* has well obſerv'd) is God but GOD himſelf: And 'tis this Squeamiſhneſs ill-conceiv'd, that confirms the Impious in his Ignorance: He ſees what Extravagancies the Superſtitious is guilty of, and turns them into Ridicule; and, judging by thoſe Extravagancies, that he neither knows what he believes, nor what he does, falls himſelf into a worſe Precipice, by endeavouring to avoid the other's.

Corruption cannot hide the Truth.

Such as are vers'd in the true Exerciſe of Religion, ſee theſe Diſorders, and bewail 'em. That which is the Principal in Religion, is, in a manner, unknown, or very little practis'd; and Men ſubſtitute, in its room, certain empty, unſettled, and extravagant Practices, fitter to beget Superſtition, than to animate Religion. Nevertheleſs, Private Intereſt, Selfiſhneſs, and Cabal, have too great a Hand in the Matter, for us to ſuppoſe, that theſe Practices will not be very durable. Such as are willing to take off this Veil, are ſuſpected, and render'd odious; and the Truth ſuffers by this kind of Tyranny. Scarce do we now know *Chriſtian* Charity, otherwiſe than by Name: This Vertue no longer dwells among us: She is retir'd to a Country more innocent, and leſs ſubject to Iniquity and Prejudice. We keep to a certain Uſe, with-

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out ever examining it; and the Habit gathers Strength from that Uſe: Both theſe have corrupted Religion; but croſs this Corruption, there is a real, fundamental, and unalterable Truth, which, notwithſtanding the greateſt Induſtry to conceal it, diſcovers all that is falſe and counterfeit in ſuch a Tranſpoſition of the Principal to the Acceſſory, and of the Acceſſory to the Principal. All turns upon a certain Foot; but all is not of equal Weight.

We ſhould learn betimes to make this Difference.

A TENDER Soul ſhould be form'd betimes, as to this Difference, to prevent its Corruption. Reaſon muſt be engaged to make this Diſtinction, while the Soul is flexible; that it may accuſtom itſelf to adhere entirely to the Principal, and faintly to the Acceſſory. Young Men are infatuated with the Tenderneſs of their Heart; they are abandon'd to the Sallies of their Temper upon the outward Practices of Religion, while no Care is taken to explain to them, inſenſibly and ſeaſonably, what is Faith, Hope, and Charity; how we are born without them; how they are afterwards inſtill'd into us; what cautious Methods we ought to take, to die with them, for them, and by them; that is, how far they engage us, and the Manner of cultivating them, to make 'em laſt as long as we live, by a continual Improvement, incapable of Exceſs; the Difference of Practices in Religion, which being nothing but Morals, are ſubject to too much, or too little, and always upon the point of degenerating, by one of thoſe Extremes. 'Tis for want of a ſeaſonable Uſe of this Diſpenſation of the ſolid Principles of Religion, that there are ſo very few Perſons capable of diſcovering, in time, and

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proportioning to the ſeveral Ages, that the moſt perfect Part of their Temper and Inclination degenerates; and that they only want Time and Opportunity to run into all that's bad, in Matters of Religion. Would to God the Experience of ſo many Great Men were not a Proof of what I ſay!

We ought to reliſh nothing but the Marrow of Religion.

THOSE who have begun with the Unrulineſs of the Paſſions, may hope to make an end with the Wiſdom and Tranquillity, which they think comes in courſe with Age, and which they cannot reliſh, till every thing elſe has cloy'd: But ſuch as have begun more ſpiritually in Appearance, under certain confus'd and airy Notions, and in the habitual Exerciſe of Practices that naturally conſtrain the Heart of Man, launch out to the utmoſt Extent of their Liberty, and grow vicious in proportion to the *Nauſea* or Inſenſibility which diſpirits 'em: We muſt create a Reliſh for the Marrow of Religion, by remonſtrating plainly and frequently the Impotency of humane Reaſon to pacify the Heart about the Contradictions of a Law, which binds by Force, ſince it flows from the Almighty, offers great and numerous Violences to the Bent of Nature, and the farther we dive into it by Reflexion, the better we are taught to humble ourſelves to the Duſt, for that Impotency; to look up to Heaven for Succours, to enable us to maintain the Combat; to eſteem thoſe precious Helps, which are felt, without being ſeen; to love both Him who vouchſafes 'em, out of his pure Bounty, and ſuch as help to engage Him ſo to do. Nothing but this Explanation can teach us, what it is, whence it comes, nor to what purpoſe it is, to love

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GOD with all our Heart, that is, *more* than ourſelves; and our Neighbour *as* ourſelves; for what is the Oeconomy of Faith with the Mind, Charity with the Heart, and Hope with the Conſcience; which maintains this Divine Intelligence by ſo innocent a Seduction.

WITHOUT theſe Leſſons of Wiſdom and ſolid Religion, *Chriſtianity* is very unſafe in the Hands of a Man, who muſt infallibly be young before he dies, tho' he ſeems to have begun to live, with a Maturity of Judgment admir'd by all the World. Any thing ſerves one that, from his Youth, has learnt to convert it to the proper Uſe for which it was deſign'd. Every thing makes it hard to live well, to a Man that never learnt why he liv'd, nor for what end he poſſeſs'd his Riches and Palaces, his Authority, Diſtinction, and the Deference paid him by all ſuch as are born beneath him. The former converts all that he has, into Means of going more aſſuredly to GOD, in the Sentiments even of Reaſon capable of confounding Atheiſm. The latter turns, to his own Ruin, whatever it pleaſes GOD to entruſt him with; and forgetting himſelf in proportion as he is better known in the World, he makes the Common-People queſtion, whether he believes in GOD, or indeed, whether GOD is juſt, in giving ſo much to a Man that makes no better Uſe on't, and excluding ſo many miſerable Wretches, for whom Providence ſeems to have aſſign'd that Reſſource.

Any thing ſerves him that knows how to make a right Uſe of it; and vice verſa.

A curious Remark on the Uſe of Riches.

WHAT Falſhood and Errour has this occaſion'd in Civil Life! and how great are the Omiſſions in Education! What! Can Reaſon ſatisfy itſelf as to the unequal Diſpenſation of

Falſhoods and Errours in Civil Life.

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the Goods of Fortune, when it obſerves, without Paſſion, the Abundance of ſome, and the Want of others? Can we ſuppoſe an intelligent Being, which preſides in the Preſervation of Nature, without agreeing, that upon this original Inequality, He has form'd Deſigns unknown to us, of the Wiſdom whereof we cannot judge but by the End; and that Religion being deſign'd purely for the Perfecting of Society, is ſo contriv'd as to preſerve and unite, in favour of Society, whatſoever it knows to be moſt apt to be ſeparated by Diviſion, and to contribute leaſt to the General Good, by a more equal Diſtribution? But to make the Caſe yet plainer: It was neceſſary, for the Duration of Society, to reunite three things together; Authority in certain Heads, who ſhould take Care of the Common Good, and have Power to make thoſe come in, by Conſent or Force, who have acted in Contradiction thereto; ſhould preſide over a certain Number of Families inhabiting ſuch a Spot of Ground, or ſhut up within ſuch and ſuch Walls, to the end that mutual Aſſiſtance may be nearer at hand and ſhould concern themſelves in the Reuniting of the Publick Effects into certain Stocks which Labour, Induſtry, or Rewards have amaſs'd, and Publick Juſtice preſerves, not to deprive the reſt of the Fellow-Countrymen of it, but to provide Treaſures and Magazines to have Recourſe to, in the Publick Exigences with greater Readineſs and Succeſs; wherein alſo particular Occaſions ſhould find particular Reſſources, upon which every one may ſo ſafely depend, that the Publick Faith ſhould be concern'd to preſerve them. All good Poli-

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icians agree, that Society is form'd upon the Eſtabliſhment, and maintain'd by the Uſage, of theſe Maxims.

RELIGION occurs thereto, and is the ſame with reſpect to Society, as the Goſpel is with reſpect to the Old Teſtament. Far from changing that Order, Religion allows it, and does all it can, to maintain and perfect it. The Law of Submiſſion to the Powers that be, be they what they will, ſtrengthens the firſt Authority, which the People's Choice, or the Neceſſity of Uniting, render'd abſolute and coercive. The Extenſion of Charity it preſcribes, and the Marriages of Kindred it hinders, the better to unite *Chriſtians* together, evince, that it approves the Partition of Goods, and the Diviſion of Eſtates, Provinces, Towns, and Families; and admits the Neceſſity thereof, that Men may be able the more readily to help one another, as if all Believers (as the Author of the *Acts of the Apoſtles* has it) had but one Heart and one Soul. What! Would there be only the *Stock* of Riches, which Religion would have nothing to do to diſpenſe, with Deſigns of a Wiſdom which ſhould be conformable to it? After ſo many Prohibitions to ſteal other Mens Goods, and, indeed, ſuch Menaces of Puniſhment to cauſe Reſtitution to be made; is it poſſible, Religion ſhould pretend to interrupt, or obſtruct the Deſigns of Society, in the Reuniting of all the Riches into one Stock? Men that ſuppoſe any thing ſo diſorderly in the Diſpenſation which Religion commands, of the Publick Effects; drink the Notion of a Wiſdom, which has always infinitely ſurpaſs'd the greateſt Extent of Polity, tho' this has cemented Society. Nay, I

Stronger Reaſons upon this Head.

I will venture to say, that they directly oppose one another, since the Right of Society over the Goods of private Persons should be much more powerful, than that of Religion, tho their Ends be so unlike: For, that of Religion is, to dispense them indirectly, and with Profuseness; whereas the End of Society is to preserve them, and to transmit them, by Succession, from Father to Son.

That Society maintains the Plenty it enjoys.

Every one will allow, that Society maintains, with much Wisdom, the Abundance it enjoys, without depriving itself of the Right of assigning a Part thereof to the Relief of the necessitous Members that compose it: But you must also grant, that Religion very far excels Society in this Particular; inasmuch as it inspires that Dispensation with so entire a Liberty, that it pretends to interest nothing therein, but Self-Love, by the great Rewards it assures to such as shall have bestow'd Part of their good things on the Necessitous, for the sake of GOD, who gave 'em to them. Society prescribes, and exacts Performance; Religion demands and promises. Society fixes the Publick Alms; Religion leaves it without Bounds. Society would not approve of a rich Man's despoiling himself of all at once; because it must always endure by the same Principles and the same Supports, in Time only: Religion, on the contrary, advises to quit all, but without interrupting the Order of Universal Charity, which cannot forget itself, because it regards nothing but Eternity, and only regards itself in Time, to reign without Time. In a word, Society prescribes even the Object of Publick Liberality, because 'tis this very

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Good of Community, which determines it; whereas Religion excludes none from the Communication of the Goods that are to be given, becauſe it knows none more near to it than another. Thus do Society and Religion agree together, and aſſiſt each other. Nature itſelf ſerv'd 'em for a Pattern.

Nature never wants Wiſdom.

'Tis obſervable, than in ſuch Rivers as have not deep Channels, but ſometimes want Water, there are hollow Places, and Holes, and certain deep Conſervatories, to which, Water never failing, the Fiſh reſort, and lay even in Heaps, on each other, to avoid the Drought, which would kill 'em upon the burning Gravel. Were there not ſuch Places of Shelter in the Rivers, we might charge Nature with Want of Wiſdom: But ſhould any of thoſe Receptacles deny its cooling Liquor to the Fiſh; What could we ſay, or upon whom lay the Blame? We ſhould not, perhaps, accuſe the Hollow; but rather believe, it was owing to ſome ſecret, but ſenſible, Diſpoſition in thoſe Inhabitants of the Rivers, which made them keep away, for fear of dying there, and obliged them to go elſewhere for Water.

Application of the Example.

Let us apply this Compariſon even to the meaneſt Circumſtances. Thoſe Waters, reunited in the Hollows, proceed from the Gliding of the Rivers, and from the Diſpoſition of the Ground, which attracts and preſerves them. Thus alſo great Eſtates fall to this or that Family, thro' a certain Diſpenſation, whereof we neither know the Springs, nor the Wiſdom; and which reunites, in ſuch a Family, the Goods diſtributed before among ſeveral, to the end this Union may the better conduce to the Pub-

lick Designs. Some of those Hollows, into which the Water and the Fish retire, are fill'd up from time to time; but others always come in their room. Thus also, we find, that some of the rich and powerful Families are daily failing; while others raise themselves, as it were, out of the Dust, to the highest Pitch of Grandeur. Those Lurking-Holes receive all sorts of Fish, tho' of never so different Constitutions; and should not the Riches of particular Persons, tho' never so conceal'd, be communicable to all the Necessitous? Lastly, if there be some Retiring-places, into which the Fish refuse to go; this is an evident Token of Infection, or of a certain secret Indisposition, which keeps them off. Nothing can better express the Hard-heartedness and hurtful Education of most of the Rich, whom the Poor are obliged to avoid, for fear of being devour'd by 'em.

A good Lesson for the Rich.

THIS Discourse should serve for a Lesson to such as are born Rich, or appointed to the Enjoyment of great Estates. You must instil into a Man, while he is yet young, a true Notion of this Comparison between Society and Religion, and of the Excellency of the one over the other, if you think to instruct him how to know himself, and how to behave himself in the Enjoyment of a plentiful Estate.

We inform ourselves only as to the Concerns of the World.

SO wretchedly blind are we, that the Concerns of the World are generally the only Scope of all our Endeavours. And after all are these successful? I doubt not. But is not this Suspicion grounded on infinite Examples that evince the contrary? You will scarce find one estated Youth, who has heard talk of Religion

ligion, as he ought: And is it surprizing, then, that his Wealth maintains his Pride, feeds his Arrogance, authorizes his Luxury, and renders him so insolent, that he is scarce ever to be born with? that he looks upon Poverty as a kind of Infamy and Servitude? has so little Integrity and Discretion? places Merit in Shew only, and outward Pomp? speaks with so little Exactness and Reason, that one would think Impertinence grew in his Mouth? is always giddy-headed? presumptuous upon all Occasions? and ignorant in all Things?

Children naturally compassionate towards the Poor; and become covetous with Age.

Did you never observe, that the Hearts of Children are naturally touch'd with the miserable Objects which present themselves to their View? You will allow, that the Principle of Society, which acts in us, before Reason unveils itself, inspires that Compatibility. Whence is this Emotion, but from the inward and natural Disposition to the Duties of Society, and the Maxims of Religion? A Child, touch'd with the Sight of a poor Wretch, loves, endeavours, and strives to give; And some have so far robb'd themselves, as to give away even the most necessary Things. This Inclination is ordinary in Children. How is it, then, that Age makes them more indifferent, more hard-hearted, and more covetous? It is because the Seeds of Religion are not so early and seasonably implanted in them, as they should be: And if most young Persons have had some Intimations thereof, the Ground was not duly prepared to receive that Seed, or to bring forth that Fruit. For, Reason could not be sufficiently touch'd with feeble Demonstrations; and as it is not duly fortify'd by such Discoveries, it so

falls out, that the Heart abandons Motions, which the Mind takes no Care to support.

That a Habit of Devotion signifies but very little towards the securing of its Duration.

Never go about to cry up a Habit of Devotion, to certify the Duration of it. The Heart of Man is uneven. Every Moment of his Life proves him unlike himself; especially, at different Ages. That which had determin'd our Conduct to Good, appears too uncertain, as soon as we oppose it to the common Decisions, and to the Example of other Men. It is then more capable of producing Shame, than of fixing us in our first Resolution; like the Bashfulness of a young Woman who has spent her tender Years in the Exercises of a Nunnery. To upbraid her with the Practices thereof, and bring 'em fresh into her Memory, is to do Violence to her, tho' they were before represented as the ready Means to attain to Perfection. And why so; but because that slight Remembrance is as insufficient to withstand the actual Impression of the Senses, as it was superficial in regulating them; and so the Strongest infallibly prevails over it, and the Weakest succombs? Since, therefore, every thing changes in us, in proportion as we change our Age, Business, or Acquaintance; nothing but those lively Seeds of Goodness, which 'tis impossible to eradicate in us, is uncapable of Change; so true it is, that they were planted with Wisdom, grew up in concert with Reason, and have been duly cultivated. The Affairs and Revolutions of Life may, perhaps, retard the Fruit; but they will never be able to stifle and kill it. 'Tis from this Foundation of Probity, solidly establish'd, and strictly examin'd, that the Conscience draws those

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secret and poinant Stings, which are call'd *Syndereſy*, or Remorſe, and which the Men of greateſt Learning have always look'd upon as the eſſential and univerſal Principles of Good.

Chriſtianity exceeds Reaſon.

Chriſtianity cannot eſtabliſh, nor long maintain itſelf, without ſuch a wiſe Diſtribution of infus'd Philoſophy, or that which is acquired beyond Precept; Reaſon comes ſtill ſhorter of Perfection, when it is depriv'd of that Help, and is obliged to have Recourſe to Diverſity, Time, Opportunities, Prejudice, and Perſons, to be reſolv'd. We may ſuppoſe a Man endued with an Extent and Capaciouſneſs of Mind, fit to comprehend every thing, without being fill'd, or ſo much as encumber'd; with Fire enough to melt and reſolve; and Exactneſs ſufficient to reduce to a conſtant Rule, that which is ſo unlikely and unequal in its Production. But where is the Security of this Diſpoſition? Where is the Ground of this Preſumption? How many Perſons are there, of the beſt Education, that now want that Capaciouſneſs, even when they fancy they ſhould want nothing, becauſe they find they have all that 'tis poſſible they can have, unleſs they could attain to a Pitch above their Sphere?

'Tis to Merit only that all is due.

'Tis commonly ſaid, that Perſons of Quality have a kind of Merit infus'd into 'em by their Birth; to obtain which, ſuch as have not that Advantage of Nature, find it a very hard matter, maugre their utmoſt Endeavours. To this I ſhall anſwer Two Things. *Firſt*, Diſtinguiſh'd Merit is an acquir'd Birth; and 'tis moſt certain, that Birth is not an infus'd Merit in thoſe, who degenerate from the

Vertue and Integrity of their Anceſtors: The Reaſon of this is, becauſe Men of Birth are indebted to Blood alone, for that which Men of Merit are indebted to their Labour, whereby theſe place themſelves much above the others. *Secondly*, Merit has always been allow'd Ambition, tho' it was never yet known, that Ambition gave any Man Merit. Whence 'tis eaſy to conclude, that Ambition is never vain, raſh, or unjuſt, but when it is without Merit; and that Merit is above all, when it is above Ambition. 'Tis true, Perſons of high Birth may, of Right, maintain their Ambition, by a Merit which is not deriv'd to them by Blood, as they imagine, but appears, as it were, infus'd in their Birth, by the Care that ſhould be taken of them, and by the Opportunities of communicating to them the Sources of true Merit. But if it is to Merit alone that all is due; and if Birth ſupported by Merit ought to have the Preference; Men of Merit may, with more Right, pretend to the Employs deſign'd for Perſons of Birth, than theſe can, to officiate without Merit; ſince 'tis certain, that very few Governments are known to be corrupted by ſuch as have Merit only. Hiſtory and Eſtabliſhments evince this Truth; and on the other hand, 'tis notorious, that ſeveral have been ſubverted and overturn'd by ſuch as had Birth alone without Merit.

The foregoing Article prov'd by a very remarkable Example.

It may not be amiſs to back this Argument with an Example. What a Condition was *Lacedæmonia* in, under the Reign of *Eunomus*, of the Family of *Procles*? His Eldeſt Son *Polydectes*, who reign'd after him, could not remedy the Diſorders and Corruption, which had

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that City into a Den of Robbers, and a Nurſery of Tyrants. Sometimes the Publick Intereſt fell a Prey to Injuſtice; and ſometimes Injuſtice ſupported the Publick Intereſt. Thoſe who govern'd, thought of nothing leſs than the Government; and if we may credit the Hiſtorians of that Time, *Eunomius*'s Courtiers were altogether bent on Pleaſures, and fir'd with an immoderate Ambition to aggrandize themſelves; which afterwards occaſion'd the War of *Peloponneſus*, ſo fatal to the *Athenians*. *Lycurgus*, the younger Son of *Eunomius*, ſaw his Brother reign, without being able to reconcile himſelf to the Diſorderlineſs of *Lacedæmonia*. He endeavour'd, for ſome time, to remedy it; and us'd his utmoſt Endeavours ſo to do; but finding none to apply himſelf to, in a Place abandon'd to Debauch and Corruption, went into *Egypt*, and thence, as we read, to the *Indies*, where he was throughly inſtructed in whatever he had a mind to know. He return'd, afterwards, into his own Country, where he arriv'd time enough to ſee his Brother's Death; whoſe Widow aſſur'd him, that ſhe was ready to rid herſelf of the Infant with which ſhe was then big, if he would marry, and reign with her. *Lycurgus* was ſtruck with Horrour at ſuch a Propoſal; and far from accepting it, was pleas'd to ſave his Nephew *Charilaus*'s Life, and to make himſelf his Tutor. But ſo far was the Air of *Sparta* infected, that even this Moderation was taken in a wrong Senſe. They ſaid, he play'd that Game, only to ſwell his Reputation, and that he might afterwards reign more abſolutely, and deſpotically. In a word, the Difference between *Lycurgus*'s Life and

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Conduct, and the Licentiousness of the People of *Sparta*, caus'd an Insurrection which obliged him to retire: But the Publick Occasions having forced them to recal him, he appear'd what he was, and govern'd with an Authority which no longer admitted of Contradiction. He reform'd the Government, restor'd Peace and Plenty, and every where establish'd so good Order, that those of *Sparta* bound themselves, by Oath, never to change Conduct. So true is it, that Birth in *Eunomius* and *Polydectes* could never attain to the Good, which *Lycurgus*'s Wisdom procur'd for his Country. A convincing Argument of what Wisdom can do in a State, when it is cloath'd with Authority; a fatal Presage of the Effects of Authority, when it is not guided by Wisdom, and Love for the Publick Weal, preferable to Private Interest.

Two other Observations upon this Subject.

Two other Observations may still be added upon this Subject.

First Observation.

The first is, That the Temper of good Minds is not drawn from the Quality of Blood, that produces its Organs; but from a pure Dispensation of Heaven, which is not pleas'd to bestow All upon the Persons who are born to Humane Grandeur, nor to refuse All to such as are born to Indigence or Meanness. Suppose, if you will, that the Lodging of good Minds in Persons of mean Birth, and weak ones in those of the first Rank, is a Defect or Errour in Nature: Nay, suppose those refin'd Souls displaced, and wander'd, if I may so express it, from their first Appointment; as soon as they are lodg'd, they begin to act; and it is by their Actions that they make themselves known:

known: For, as the Eternal Wiſdom takes a Pleaſure in concealing itſelf, in the Government of the World, it cannot better avoid our Penetration, than by obliging the Great to want, or have Occaſion for, the Small; and the Small to contribute to the Satisfaction and Service of the Great. By this Connexion, the Principles of *Chriſtian* Morality become Natural, before they are Evangelical; and Intereſt alone would oblige Men to ſtick to 'em, even tho' there were no ſuperiour Law to command them ſo to do. This is what muſt firſt be examin'd into, before we proceed to the Diſcuſſion of Morality; and this is the moſt infallible Method of Reaſoning, and of maintaining the Bonds of Civil Society in the Uniformity of Wiſdom, above the different Prejudices that ſo differently govern Men.

Second Obſervation.

My ſecond Obſervation is, That the Knowledge of a great Merit is not over-ſecure in the Hands of Perſons of high Birth; becauſe Jealouſy and Self-Love often combine to form an ill Judgment of it: And if in a weak Mind there is only a common Education, we ought to expect nothing but Injuſtice in thoſe Deciſions, which neceſſarily require an univerſal Want of Prepoſſeſſion to make 'em juſt. It muſt be confeſs'd, Civil Superiority gives Perſons of Quality a Right to examine Men of Merit; but it does not inveſt 'em with a Right to limit them according to their Prejudices. 'Tis a very judicious Maxim, and indeed, advantageous to a Statesman, to obſerve, that as ſoon as the Man of Merit can do more in favour of the Publick Good, than the Perſon of Quality; this laſt muſt ſuffer himſelf to be

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guided and instructed by the other, as an Assistant sent him by Providence, to help him out in case of need. None but Persons of an immoderate Ambition, or false Merit, can condemn this Maxim, so wisely establish'd for the Harmony of States. And if this kind of Men are arraign'd, like a great many others in the World, for despising those who have Merit only, and no Fortune, we cannot conceive a better Opinion of these, than by the Contempt they shew for the others. He that commands a Ship, has not always the Art of being, at the same time, an excellent Pilot, and an excellent Seaman; the Strength, Experience, and Shifts of the latter, never turn the former out of his Place, without Danger and Confusion: But on the contrary, they are both join'd together for the Safety of the Ship. This Comparison speaks itself. *Happy the State, where the Great and the Wise have an equal Share in the Administration!*

Occasion of the Persecution in France.

WHEN *Lewis* XIV. came to the Crown, there arose great Divisions and Misunderstandings among the Grandees, which in a few Years grew up to Civil Wars. The King's Minority, and the Envy or Hatred they bore against Cardinal *Mazarine*, occasion'd Insurrections in most parts of the Kingdom. Most of the Princes and other Persons of Quality retir'd from Court. Only the *Protestants* maintain'd it with so good Success, and such extraordinary Zeal, that the King found himself oblig'd to take Notice of it, in a Declaration publish'd *Anno* 1652. At the Court, and in the Armies, they did nothing but sing the Praises of the *Reformed*. The Queen-Mother was the first that set

the

the Example, and acknowledg'd, that they had ſav'd the Kingdom. You will hardly believe, that this was preciſely the principal Cauſe of their Ruin, and of all the Miſeries they have ſince undergone. Even their Enemies have too often ſaid it, and the Conſequences have too ſtrongly confirm'd it, to be now doubted. Thoſe great and important Services were miſrepreſented and render'd odious to the King and his Miniſters; to whom it was inſinuated, that ſuch a Party, who had preſerv'd the State, would likewiſe be able to ſubvert it, if they chang'd ſides; that ſuch an Accident might happen; and that it was, therefore, a Point of Prudence, to cruſh them. Thus all the *Good* they *had* done, was turn'd into a Proof of the *Evil* they *might*, one day, do. This deviliſh Subtlety was greedily ſwallow'd down for excellent Politicks. As ſoon as the Peace of the Kingdom was reſtor'd, the Deſign of extirpating the *Reformed* was hatch'd; and to convince them, that their *Zeal* had *conſum'd* them, the Lightning firſt fell upon the Towns who had expreſs'd the greateſt. *Rochelle*, *Montauban*, and *Milhau*, had ſignaliz'd themſelves in the Intereſt of the Court: So the firſt was ruin'd by numerous Proſcriptions; and the Two others were ſack'd by the Soldiers.

Of its Conſequences.

THIS was only by way of Prelude. So great was the Number of Engines afterwards ſet on work, and ſo prodigiouſly was it multiply'd, that 'tis impoſſible to conceive, how the Malice of the Mind of Man could carry its Fecundity ſo far. For the Space of above Twenty Years, the Fund was not exhauſted. The principal and moſt remarkable Machines may be reduced

to

to Six Orders. 1. The Querks at Law and vexatious Actions enter'd against them in the ordinary Courts of Justice. 2. Their being depriv'd of all Offices and Employs, and, in general, of all the Means to get their Livelihood. 3. The Infractions of the Edict of *Nantes*, under the Title of Explanations. 4. The new Laws, or new Regulations. 5. Tricks and amusing Illusions. 6. And lastly, the Designs of amusing the People, and inspiring 'em with Hatred and Animosity. These were the most considerable Methods made use of by the Persecutors, to compass their Ends, by which they have, at last, accomplish'd the Desolation of the finest Kingdom in *Europe*.

Of the Faith and Word of a Prince.

THERE be few, who make any question, but that a King is obliged to keep his own Word and Faith, as well as that of his Predecessors, when it is become a Condition inseparably annex'd to his Succession, as, no doubt, it is, when it is given under the Quality of an *Authentick*, *Perpetual*, and *Irrevocable Promise*. 'Tis in vain to say, that he cannot bind himself to his Subjects; and that his Sovereignty consists herein. Suppose, Authentick Promises did not bind him towards his Subjects; they would do it, at least, towards himself. A King is not in a better Condition than GOD. Now, tho' GOD is infinitely above the Creature, Divines agree, that His Promise is so binding upon Himself, that it is inviolable. And hence it is, that the Scriptures so often mention His Truth and Faithfulness in the Performance of the Conditions of His Covenant. Who doubts, then, but a King is obliged inviolably to observe that which Justice made him statute with his Subjects,

Subjects, to accommodate their Differences by the way of Reason, and keep them all from a mutual Oppression one of the other? But how much more is he obliged so to do, when both Parties are agreed, and the Law he has made between them, is become a Publick Faith of his whole Kingdom? And how much more yet, when this Alliance or Treaty has been mutually sworn to by a whole Kingdom, and GOD is thereby made the Trustee and Avenger? How is it possible, therefore, there should be Evil Counsellors capable of persuading a Prince to go beyond all the Rules of Justice, Fidelity, and Conscience? and that, without Regard either to GOD, the State, or himself, he should take the Measures of such an Affair, meerly from his own Will, or the Power that is in his Hands? To say, that a Prince revokes an Edict, only because it grows needless, is a Poorness, which has not the least Proportion with the Dignity of a Great King. It were as good to say, he is truly obliged to preserve to his Subjects all the Privileges belonging to them; but that having himself annull'd and abrogated 'em by a Major Strength, he thinks himself duly and lawfully free from that Obligation. Just as if a Father should himself cut his Childrens Throats, and then boast, that he is free from the Care of providing for, and maintaining them!

A ridiculous Supposition.

SUPPOSE, *Henry the Great*, and *Lewis* XIII. his Son, granted their Edicts to the *Protestants*, only to chowse them, and with design to ruin them afterwards, by favour of that Treachery: That not being able to do it, by reason of the Wars they were forced to maintain,

they

they had entrusted this important Secret to their present Successor, to put it in Execution when he should meet with an Opportunity; and that having this Thought when first he ascended the Throne, he confirm'd the Edicts, and publish'd his Declarations of 1643, and 1652, with a great many other *Arrêts* in favour of the *Reformed*, only to abuse them the more cunningly, or to lay Snares for them, or to crown them as Victims design'd for Sacrifice: That all that has been done against them since the *Pyrenean* Treaty, was but the Execution of a Project of an older Date than was imagin'd: Lastly, That that which had been a great and profound Mystery, was discover'd by this new Edict of Revocation, which the King has been pleas'd to acquaint the whole World with, on purpose to be congratulated thereupon. Must it not be confess'd, that if the Enemies of *France* had undertaken to decry the Conduct of her Kings, and render them odious to the Universe, they could not have succeeded better therein? That which is granted as a Reward for Services, the Observation whereof is solemnly promis'd; or, as a signal Confidence, wherein the Faith of the State is made to intervene, and the Religion of an Oath adjoin'd: All this is only to draw them in, and in order to get them dragoon'd. What an Idea must this give other Nations, of the Kings of France? and what Confidence would they have 'em repose in their Promises and Treaties, if they deal thus with their own Subjects? If they caress Them, only to stifle 'em, what can Foreigners expect? The Design of ruining them was, in all Probability, form'd

form'd after *Lewis* XIV. arriv'd at his Majority; and it was exactly at that Time, after the Civil Wars, that the *Proteſtants* had render'd him ſuch ſignal Services: Hence we may reaſonably conclude, that the Project for their Deſtruction was founded upon their Services. GOD produced Light out of Darkneſs; but this Policy produced Darkneſs out of Light.

The Haughtineſs with which the Duke of Savoy was treated, made him quit the French Intereſt in 1690.

The Miniſters of all the Princes of *Europe* knew perfectly well, that the Haughtineſs with which Monſieur *de Louvois* treated the Duke of *Savoy*, was the Occaſion of his Royal Highneſs's abandoning the Intereſts of *France*, and embracing the Party of the Confederates, in the late War which was enter'd upon immediately after the Revolution in *England*. Monſieur *de Pompone*, at that time Secretary of State in *France*, and one of the greateſt Orators the King ever had in his Miniſtry, made a very eloquent Diſcourſe upon that Occaſion, in a full Council, and in Preſence of the King himſelf; with which I ſhall conclude this Volume, as being a very curious and ſecret Piece. It was couch'd in the following Expreſſions, as near as they could well be render'd into *Engliſh*.

Monſ. de Pompone's Speech to the French King and Council.

" Our Miniſters have had little Attention " on Foreign Courts: The Felicity of the " Reign has lull'd 'em into Confidence: They " have ſtinted their Duty to the Domeſtick " Cares of State, to render the Authority " more deciſive than before it was, to find out " unknown Reſſources, and to carry the War " in a manner which ſeem'd incompatible with " the Genius of the Nation. Affairs abroad " have not been anſwerable to our Proſperity " at home. The Deſpiſing of Ancient Alli-

"ances, and the Discontinuance of Pensions, "have excited the Hatred of *Europe* to con- "ceive the Projects which have been lately "form'd, and do still subsist against us. The "Evil is great, and would be incurable, had "not *France* her Star, and Ressources which "are unknown even to herself; and did not "the Vivacity of her Councils supply the De- "fects of her Politicks.

"We were never ignorant, that the Court "of *Rome* has a greater share than any other "Court, in the Overtures of Peace and War; "for which Reason, we ought always to be- "have ourselves with the greatest Circumspe- "ction towards her, and to have an Eye on "all her Motions. The Partisans of other "Crowns are always briguing and caballing, "take Advantage of Occurrences, are conti- "nually making Creatures, and avert the least "Explanations of Interest; while, with a "Haughtiness hated by all Sovereigns, We "never bate an Inch, and with the same "Warmth stand up for needless Prerogatives, "as for the most essential Rights; at a time "when the States-General, the Circles, and "the *Spaniards* are preparing to take Advan- "tage of the fatal Dispositions of *England*, "where all things concur to their Designs.

"JAMES II. past Reconciliation with the "Two Houses of Parliament, and detested "by the Religions, gives place to his Son-in- "Law, who has all the Advantages of Na- "ture, that can render him worthy a Crown, "and a Mind capable of inspiring all Councils "with a general Confederacy. 'Tis by his "Means, that the Schismaticks of *Germany* are

"not

" now reconcil'd with the Catholicks, in the " Union of the same Designs. More of Dis- " cord between the Northern Crowns and " States; the *Switzers* shaken; *Poland* preven- " ted; the *Ottoman* Power dwindled; all *Eu-* " *rope* breathing against us; *Odescalchi* in the " Chair; And maugre all these deadly Con- " junctures, we dispute about Franchises with " the Vigour of *Lavardin*, fitter to maintain " the Honour, than Interests, of his Master. " We incense an inflexible Pope, whose Ver- " tue and Temper are equally to be fear'd: " *Ottoboni*, his Successor, as dangerous, tho of " easier Access, possesses us with Hopes, while " he dissembles to his Family, that his Inten- " tions against us are render'd suspicious, and " his Participation in the Rupture of *Savoy*. " 'Tis a State bound by Interest to the *Roman*, " *France*, *Spain*, and the Two Republicks which " are contiguous to it, make this Dependence " indispensably necessary for it. It is of itself " too weak. The Opposition of those Two " Powers, who can suffer nothing to be done " against it, and the Protection of *Rome*, ought " to secure its Repose. All these great Ob- " jects strike us; and yet we are regardless of " the Expedients. The Cardinal *d'Estrées* does " his Duty, and presses by his Friends. We " are given to understand, as well from the " side of *Venice* as *Genoa*, that the Duke of *Sa-* " *voy* staggers. Couriers surprizd with their " Cyphers, discover to us their Correspon- " dence with Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, and the " Prince of *Orange*. The Consideration of her " Alliance with, and Respect for, a Power as " formidable as ours, might cease in the Policy

" of *Savoy*, when *Europe* is become her Gua-
" rantee, *Rome* incites her, and more of Sowr-
" ness is join'd to those Dispositions. It has
" always been our greatest Interest to hold
" *Italy* by some Corner, and to have Places and
" Armies therein, to moderate the *Spanish* In-
" solence, which is so powerfully establish'd
" on that side.

" Our former Ministers were highly sen-
" sible, that it was necessary to buy the Alli-
" ance of *Savoy* at any rate. It opens and
" shuts to us the *Alps*, and may enable us to
" defend our Frontiers in *Provence* and *Dau-*
" *phiné*, where we have no Fortifications. We
" should, therefore, in this difficult Juncture,
" have sacrificed all to that Prince, during the
" Negotiations which solicited him to a Rup-
" ture. The Duchess his Consort, and the
" Ministers, did, indeed, appease him, by the
" Prospect of fatal Events. He decided against
" us; but these last were glad to lay hold of
" the Opportunity, to re-establish their ex-
" hausted Finances.

" In the Exchange of *Bresse*, and by the
" Treaty of *Pisa*, *Savoy* was to be indemni-
" fy'd with very considerable Sums. *Henry* IV
" excus'd himself from paying them, becaus
" he would not make himself bare, in the Wa
" he was going to carry into *Germany*, had no
" his Death, so deplorable for *France*, preven
" ted it. The Minority of the late King, an
" the Troubles of his Reign, had furnish'
" just Excuses in answer to the Solicitation
" of *Savoy*; but so many extraordinary Thing
" have happen'd in this, as well for the Num
" ber of the King's Conquests, as for his in

" men

" menſe Projects, that no tolerable Reaſon " can be given, why that Payment has been " ſo long deferr'd.

" The Duke of *Savoy* was beſet with Negotiations. His Determination gave a fatal " Blow to the Party he abandon'd. The Conduct of our Miniſters was, by no means, agreeable to him: This was enough to ſet " him heartily againſt us. He wrote a Letter to the Marquis *de Haro*, which he had " concerted in his Council, importing, in general Expreſſions, *That all things tended to Motion on the ſide of the* Milaneze; *That he was obliged to defend his Frontiers, and put Troops therein, to baffle the Enterprizes of the* Spaniards, *who would be follow'd by the Confederates*; *That he was in want of Money*; *That he left it to the Care of his Miniſters to renew their Inſtances with the King, for the Payment of ſo lawful a Debt, as that which the Treaty of* Piſa, *and the Exchange of* Breſſe, *had procur'd him*; *And, laſtly, that the Neceſſity of defending a Common Cauſe, being a ſtrong Argument for his inſiſting upon that Payment, he hoped for ſpeedy Satisfaction as to his Demands.* The Marquis *de Louvois* had too tender a Conſcience, to put the King to the Trouble of Reading that Letter: But his Prudence was very ill-tim'd.

" That Miniſter was endow'd with great Parts. His Memory prodigious and faithful; His Judgment quick and ſound; His Mind deciſive, and capable of undergoing the Applications of the Miniſtry; His Education very mean, and Sentiments proportionable; Greedy of Money; enjoying all

" his Favour with Insolence; Very knowing " in the Particulars of War; Esteem'd and fa- " vour'd by the King: But very much to seek in " good Politicks; in the Knowledge of Courts; " in Judging of the Interests of *Europe*, which " he had not in his View; and in no wise " skill'd in the Management of Negotiations; " being regardless of every thing but the Do- " mestick Affairs of State.

" I know not, whether the Success that is " owing to his Ministry, may make Atone- " ment for his Faults to Posterity. So much " as he had of Excellent was visible to all the " World; whereas his Defects were known " to none but Persons of State. His Proceed- " ing in the Affair of *Savoy* is agreeable to " all those Characters. He answer'd the Duke " of *Savoy*'s Council, *That he did not think, the* " *King ought to be interrupted with the Instances* " *of that Letter; That we had all* Europe *to deal* " *with; and, That his strict Alliance with it,* " *join'd with the fresh Remembrance of the Protec-* " *tion which* France *had several times given to* " Piedmont, *obliged him to have Recourse to o-* " *ther Resources.* There was Boldness and a " great deal of Scorn in this Answer.

" If the Marquis *de Louvois* had the Advi- " ces of *Germany* and *Italy* concerning these " Proceedings, and the Instances that were " made in *Savoy*, on the part of *Rome* and the " Confederates; 'twould be impossible ever to " justify him. He has deliver'd up *France* in- " to the Hands of new Enemies on an open " Frontier, where we are less capable of with- " standing them. And if he was ignorant of " the Motions which agitated *Italy*, he fail'd

" in

" in the Vigilance of his Character. What-
" ever Opinion we have entertain'd concern-
" ing him, we cannot mistake in saying, that
" the Rupture of *Savoy* is owing to his Im-
" prudence; and the Enemies it will make,
" will reflect upon his Memory.

" ITALY has long serv'd for a Theater of
" War to the House of *Austria*, in her Designs
" for the Universal Monarchy; and was there-
" fore look'd upon as an indispensable Part-
" ner in the Projects of the *Austrian* Politicks.
" The Head of the Church, the *Apennines*, the
" *Alps*, and the Seas, at her Disposal, per-
" fected the Blockade of *France*, which was, be-
" sides, shut in by the *Rhine* and the *Pyrenees*.
" Long did we dispute the Ground with her;
" but it cost us Blood and dire Catastrophes;
" and in the Vicissitude of Conquests and Dis-
" sters, we were forced to yield. The *Mila-*
" *nese*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, remain'd hers; and
" there, perhaps, had rested her Ambition,
" did not the Fatality of humane Affairs dis-
" pose of every thing.

" CHARLES V. quitted the Empire, dissa-
" tisfy'd with himself. *Philip*, his Son, was
" not so happy. He had a great deal of Con-
" duct, and little of Action. His Successors
" have degenerated; and *Italy*, freed from her
" Chains, resum'd a kind of Liberty, which
" was maintain'd by the slender Establishment
" we have made in her, by the *Montferrat*,
" and by the Means which our Engagements
" with the Duke of *Savoy* have put into our
" Hands. All agreed to suffer us there. *Rome*,
" *Venice*, *Genoa*, and the Circles saw, with
" Pleasure, *Spain* in Respect, in our Neighbour-

" hood. They built their Repose upon those
" Two Opposite Powers among 'em; and had
" the Marquis *de Louvois* done never so little
" in the Courts, or the Duke of *Savoy* been
" never so little pleas'd with our Conduct,
" *Piedmont* had remain'd quiet; and our Ene-
" mies had been made sensible of our united
" Force, which this fatal Rupture has di-
" vided.

" The Principles that Minister went upon,
" were, That all *Italy* detested the Enterpri-
" zes of the Empire; That its Designs upon
" the Fiefs alone were melancholy Subjects
" for all such Princes, as knew they had not a
" sure Foundation in the Discussion of that
" Right; That the Duke of *Savoy* would not
" venture to decide against so many Interests
" that opposed the Rupture; And lastly, that
" according to the Calculation of the Forces
" of the Confederacy, they would be no less
" incommoded, than we, with this Diversion.
" The sorry Advice from *Rome* serv'd very
" much to impair the Judgment of Monsieur
" *de Louvois*. Our Ambassador pick'd up, in
" the Conferences of the Cardinals, a few airy
" Notions, which wanted Sincerity, or good
" Reflexion; with which he stuff'd his Di-
" spatches, as if the Politicks of that Court ex-
" plain'd themselves, and needed no Conje-
" cture. That Minister wanted Penetration,
" therefore; but nothing can be imputed to
" his Zeal. He was surpriz'd; and died with
" the secret Sorrow of being ignorant of that
" which a Man of his Character ought always
" to know.

" The

" The Prince of *Orange* contributed all he " could to the Event of *Savoy*. He has all the " superior Talents, immense Views, an ad- " mirable Genius in rightly timing the Execu- " tion of his Projects; Cunning enough to act " without being perceiv'd; infinite in his Ex- " peditions; always attentive; never losing " Sight of the Order of the Dispositions of the " Interests of all the States of *Europe*; quick " in knowing Men, just in the Usage of them; " and uncapable of being confounded with " Multiplicity of Business.

" He made his Application, in the first " place, to Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, an incom- " parable Prince, but inferior to him in the " Merit of Policy. He made shift with his Sin- " cerity, the Esteem he was in with the Em- " peror, his general Reputation all over *Ger- " many*, and his Indignation against *France*, " who outed him, and dispos'd him to any kind " of Projects. Thus, the Prince of *Orange* had " several Conferences with him, unknown to " all the World. The first Sketches of the " Confederacy were design'd therein. He said " nothing that might reflect either on his " Faith or Integrity. He made it out to him, " that his Re-establishment in his own Terri- " tories was no otherwise possible, than by " Reuniting the Forces of all *Europe* against a " Power which had now no Enemies that " could find her Work, and which was so " barr'd with Frontiers, that no less than a " general Confederacy could humble her.

" Charles of *Lorrain* gave his Allies to " understand, that the Prince of *Orange* had " engaged to bring the Northern Powers and

" the

" the *Spaniards* into the Alliance, and to in-
" duce *Rome* to give 'em no Interruption. His
" Design in engaging the Duke of *Lorrain* was,
" to make the Alliance go down the more glib
" with the Emperor, and to fill the Duke of
" *Savoy* with Surmise, whose secret Confident
" he became, by means of their taking the Di-
" versions of the Carnaval at *Venice* together.
" To hasten the Proceedings of that Prince,
" he made him sensible of the Importance of
" subduing, in the Mind of the Emperor, his
" Incompatibility with the *Lutheran* Princes,
" and in that of the Duke of *Savoy*, the Habit
" of fearing *France*.

" CHARLES dispos'd the Emperor without
" much Ado. The Wounds of *Strasburg* and
" *Philipsburg* were still bleeding. His Council
" and He preferr'd Revenge against us, to all
" the most pressing Considerations of Religion.
" The Duke of *Savoy* yielded, with the same
" Facility, to the Persuasion of that Alliance;
" But as his Decision depended upon *Rome* and
" *Italy*, *Charles* went no farther, and left it to
" the Prince of *Orange*, to do the rest.

" THIS Prince had his Creatures at *Rome*,
" furnish'd with Money and good Instructions.
" The Cardinals *de Medicis*, *Altieri*, *Ginetti*,
" and *d' Este*, were to him easy of Access. The
" Interests of *France* seem'd desperate. They
" insinuated to the Pope, that the Necessity of
" a pressing Policy ought to suspend the Con-
" siderations of Religion: That Fire and
" Sword are made use of for the Good of Man-
" kind, in Cases of Necessity: That the Forces
" of *Protestants* employ'd in the Reduction of
" a Prince who threatned all *Europe*, without

" excepting

" excepting even the Authority and Patrimo-
" ny of St. *Peter*, ought to ſtand with the Zeal
" of the Church, as well as the other Means
" uſed for procuring the ſame End: That
" *France* had join'd ſo many Forces together,
" that the Empire and *Spain* could not, with-
" out the greateſt Difficulty, oppoſe her Pro-
" greſs: That he might judge of the Conſe-
" quences by the Events: That that Power
" having made Invaſion after Invaſion in *Flan-*
" *ders*, *Germany*, and *Alſace*, ſhe would not
" fail, once ſhe had ſecured the *Rhine* under
" her Juriſdiction, to poſſeſs herſelf of *Italy*,
" with greater Succeſs than *Charles* VIII. and
" *Lewis* XII. who could not maintain them-
" ſelves therein: That to defend himſelf
" againſt ſuch a formidable Monarchy, a Di-
" verſion, as important as this, was highly ne-
" ceſſary: That the Succours of the Confede-
" rates, who were to come into the Alliance,
" ſhould be regulated, in their Marches and
" Winter-Quarters, by ſo exact a Diſcipline,
" that the Tranquillity and good Eſtate of
" *Italy* ſhould receive no Diſturbance from
" them: And, that it could not be doubted,
" but that *France*, being weaken'd with this
" Diverſion, would be more tractable to a
" Peace, which would ſecure the Reign of
" the Church, and reſtore the Tranquillity of
" *Europe*.

" THE Court of *Rome* was the eaſier im-
" poſ'd upon by this ſpecious Motive, becauſe
" *France* was at that time provoking her. *Ve-*
" *nice* and *Genoa* reflected upon the ſame Con-
" ſiderations; but are leſs acceſſible by Ca-
" bals, and more difficult to be drawn into Er-

" rour.

" rour. The former is interested in Naviga-
" tion; She is expos'd to our Maritime For-
" ces, and never falls out with us. The latter
" is within our Cannon-shot; and we are up-
" on her with one Blast of Wind. Neverthe-
" less, they gave ear to the Prince of *Orange*'s
" Envoys; and as good an Account as they
" have given us of their Neutrality, we shall,
" one day, let 'em see, perhaps, they have ill
" serv'd us in this Juncture.

" The secret Wishes and Approbations of
" such as could not openly facilitate the Ene-
" mies of *France*, were, therefore, a Manage-
" ment of the most refin'd Politicks for the
" Prince of *Orange*. *Mantua* was gain'd over;
" She promis'd every thing, and engaged to
" act according as she should find herself se-
" cur'd against our Insults, by the Progress
" that should be made in *Piedmont*. *Florence*
" carry'd herself with enough of Prudence and
" Circumspection; She refus'd to give the En-
" voy an Audience, and all manner of Parti-
" cipation; but suffer'd herself to be suborn'd
" by the *Jews*, Tributaries who paid very con-
" siderable Sums by the Prince of *Orange*'s
" Orders.

" All things were preparing in *Germany*
" to make the Duke of *Savoy* arm. There were,
" in his Court, Two Agents, who had daily
" Conferences with him. Nevertheless, he de-
" termin'd nothing; His Council perswaded
" him to the Rupture. The Confederacy and
" Rising of all *Europe* secur'd his Confidence;
" but the Duchess and his Ministers kept him
" quiet. He would; he was afraid; he durst

" not.

" not. The leaſt Negotiation on the part of " *France*, Propoſals how little ſoever agree- " able, with a ſmall matter of Money, had de- " termin'd him to have remain'd firm in his " Duty.

" He even took a ſecond Step on our ſide, " which gave ſo much the more Ground of " Hope to his Miniſters, in that he was not " advis'd to it. He wrote a Letter to the King, " full of Reſpect; It was preſſing, but had " nothing of the Arrogance which open Reſ- " ſources, and Sides already choſen, inſpire. " The King read it, and that with a great deal " of Attention, leaving it to his Miniſter to " anſwer it, and to take ſuch Meaſures as ſhould " be agreeable to that Prince.

" Posterity will not be able to conceive, " how Monſieur *de Louvois*, who was a great " Man for Action, ſhould be ignorant of the " Progreſs which the Prince of *Orange* had " made in the Duke of *Savoy*'s Mind, while " the *Bankers* Letters every where made Men- " tion of it. And nobody will accuſe that " Miniſter, who was ſo ſerviceable in other " reſpects, of having known the fatal Diſpo- " ſitions of that Prince, when he return'd him " an Anſwer for the King, and, inſtead of " ſoftening his Inſtances, by Propoſals for gi- " ving ſome Time to the Efforts that were to " be made for his Payment, he wrote to him, " with Haughtineſs, *That evil Counſellors had* " *advis'd his Earneſtneſs*; *That his Family ought* " *be ſenſible of the King's Protection*; *That there* " *was no other Party for them to take*; And laſt- " ly, he gave him to underſtand, *that no Time*

" *would*

" *would be lost, nor Means left unessay'd, to re-*
" *strain an Ally, who was desirous of falling*
" *from his Faith and Gratitude.*

" Our Courier deliver'd this Letter to " the Secretary of the Duke's Dispatches; It " was read by the Duchess and his Ministers, " who immediately propos'd several Expedi- " ents to keep it from the Prince, while they " would prevail with Monsieur *de Louvois*, by " good Advice, to write with more Modera- " tion: But the small Interval between the " Courier's Arrival and the Meeting of the " Council, in which the Duke was present, " did not give Time for taking the necessary " Measures to regulate those Inconveniences. " The Letter was read; and the Prince rising " hastily from his Seat, said these Words, " which lively Resentment forced from his " Heart; *'Tis too much; We must perish, or be* " *revenged.* He order'd the Envoy to be call'd " in, took the Treaty, and sign'd it.

" We have since made several Attempts to " pacify that Prince; They have hitherto " prov'd vain. He is passionate, violent, and " has all the Qualities in his Temper, which " tend to Anger, and none for Moderation. " He cannot forget these Words, which he re- " peats upon all Occasions; *I have been treated* " *like a Lackey.* The Consequences have con- " vinced us, that never was Rupture more " fatal, *tho' our Enemies did not know how to* " *make all the Advantage of it, which they might.* " It drains our Forces and our Finances, and " exposes to Insult one of our Frontiers, whose " only Bulwark was the *Alps* and our Corre-

" spondence

" ſpondence with that Prince. In a word, it
" has occaſion'd the Loſs of *Caſal*, and may
" not only produce that of the other Poſts we
" have in *Piedmont*, but even pour the Confe-
" derate Armies into our Provinces, if we do
" not prevent all theſe Misfortunes, by a pri-
" vate Peace obtain'd at any rate.

FINIS.

G.R. III.